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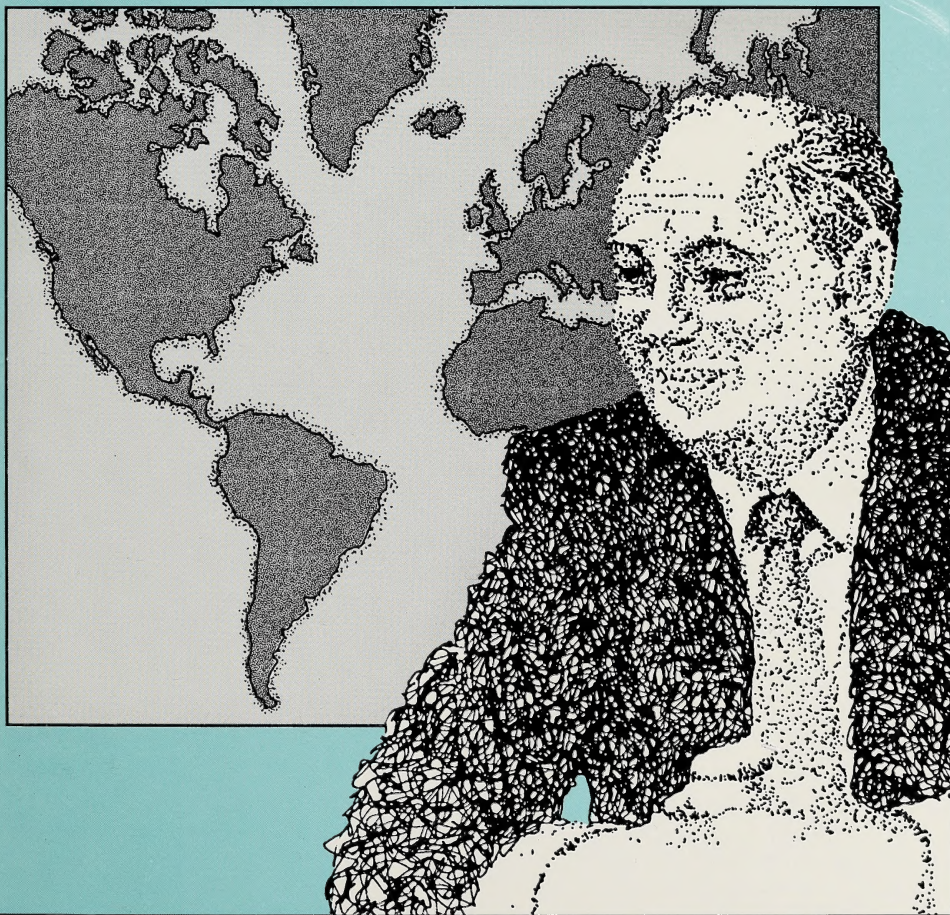


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MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY OF NATIONS 1963-PRESENT

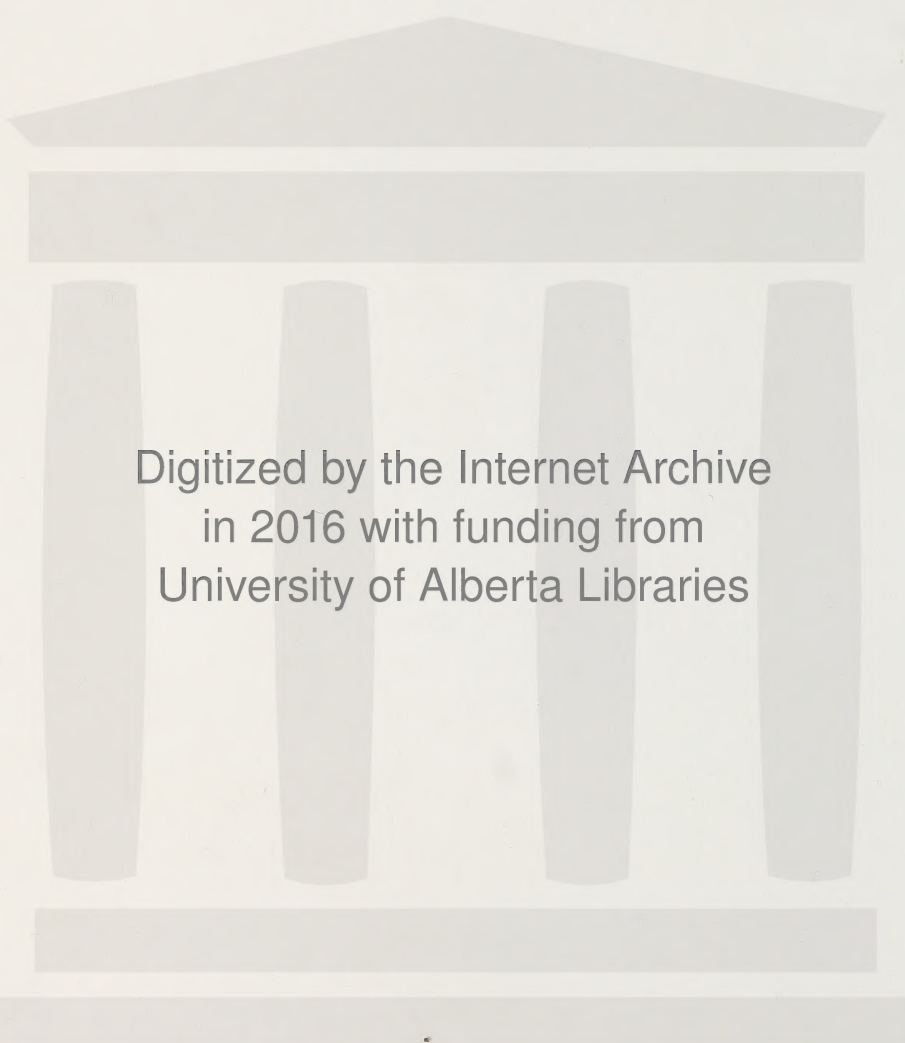


S O C I A L S T U D I E S 3 0



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Social Studies 30

Module 8

MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY OF NATIONS 1963–PRESENT



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Teachers (Social Studies 30)	✓
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Other	

Social Studies 30
 Student Module
 Module 8
 Maintaining Peace and Security of Nations, 1963–Present
 Alberta Distance Learning Centre
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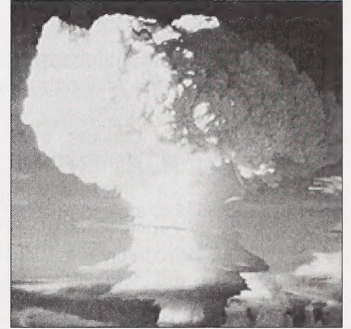
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US ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

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OVERVIEW

As a citizen, you are expected to set goals and establish guidelines to control your behaviour with other people. You will probably want to achieve your goals through cooperative effort. Yet you will undoubtedly experience obstacles to these goals. Inevitably, conflict will arise between you and the obstacles.

Nations experience this same process. They strive to fulfil their foreign policy goals through a variety of methods. Other nations and events sometimes create obstacles to these goals. Conflict – and often confrontation – arises from such situations.

In international relations the superpowers dictated many of the conditions to which other countries must adapt in order to fulfil their goals. From 1945 to 1991 the superpowers had direct and indirect impact on relations between all countries of the world. All nations have to deal with questions of peace, cooperation, and responsibility in the world.

At the end of the module you will be expected to make a decision about possible answers to the following questions:

- What other measures could have been taken to resolve Cold War conflicts?
- What can be done to create more regional and global cooperation?
- How can world leaders avoid a nuclear confrontation?
- What are some of the concerns over the control of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union?
- What arms reductions has the United States been making?
- What does the disarmament process mean in terms of the world's nuclear weapons arsenal?

MODULE 8

Maintaining Peace and Security of Nations, 1963–Present

Section 1: Nuclear Weapons and Superpower Interactions

Section 2: Spheres of Influence and Global Interactions

Section 3: Economic Development and Global Interactions

Section 4: Global Responsibility and Cooperation

Section 5: Global Peace and the Emergence of New States

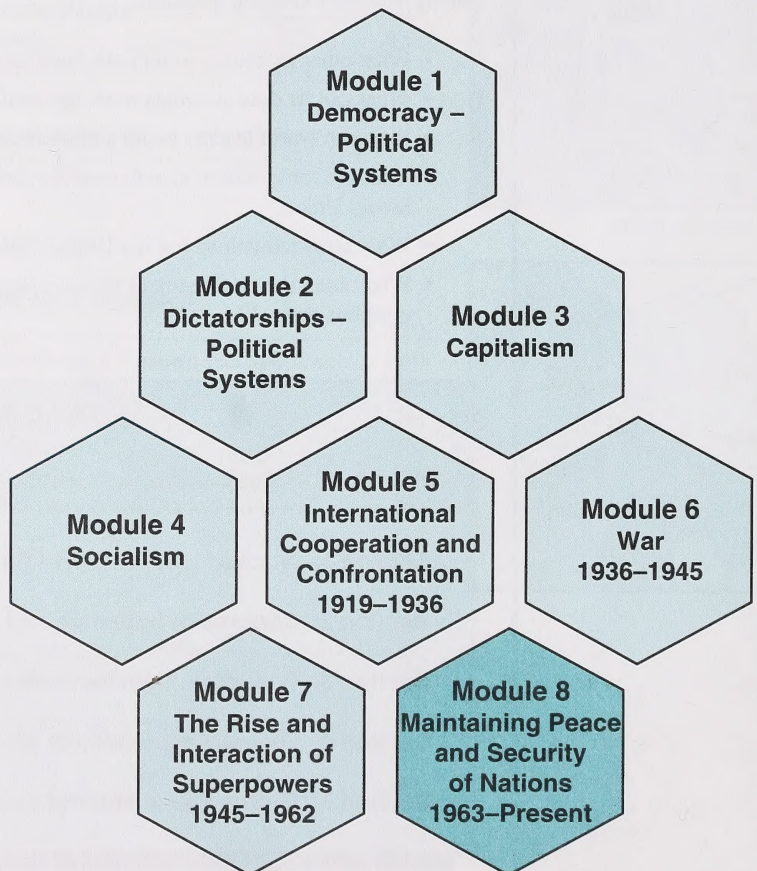
Evaluation

Your mark in this module will be determined by your work in the Assignment Booklet. You must complete all assignments. In this module you are expected to complete three section assignments and one final module assignment. The mark breakdown is as follows:

Section 1 Assignment	20 marks
Section 2 Assignment	25 marks
Section 3 Assignment	15 marks
Final Module Assignment	<u>40 marks</u>
TOTAL	100 marks

Course Overview

This course contains eight modules. The module you are working on is highlighted in a deeper colour.



Nuclear Weapons and Superpower Interactions



US ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Have you ever worried about the possibility of a nuclear war being fought? How safe is the world, given the large number of nuclear weapons that various countries have stored up? Why do countries build up and store nuclear weapons? Would your area be a target? How devastating would the destruction be if there was a nuclear attack on your area?

In this section you will learn of the enormous growth in the number of nuclear weapons and the refinements made in nuclear technology. You will come to understand how the nuclear **arms race**, chiefly between the superpowers, both **stabilized** and **destabilized** international relations. You will also study international measures taken to limit the nuclear arms race.

After reading this section you should understand

- the development of nuclear weapons and its effects as both a stabilizing and destabilizing influence on superpower relations
- the balance of power between NATO and the former Warsaw Pact
- the concept of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and its effect on global relations
- ways in which superpower military and economic strength affected the interaction between all nations of the world

***Arms race:** a contest between two or more nations competing with each other for military superiority*

***Stabilization:** a situation of decreased danger of conflict and of greater international security*

***Destabilization:** a situation in which nations feel less secure due to increased danger of conflict and misunderstanding*

Note: In Social 30 the former Soviet Union (USSR) will still be called the Soviet Union, even though the country no longer exists.

Superpower: a term applied to the U.S.A. and the USSR to distinguish them as the most powerful nations in the world, militarily and politically

Activity 1: What Are Superpowers?

The **superpowers** had been the dominant forces in international relations from the end of World War II to 1991. As the imperial empires of England, France, and Germany fell apart, the power vacuum was filled largely by the capitalist U.S.A. and the communist USSR. As a result of wartime conferences at Yalta and Potsdam, the expansion of the Soviet empire, and growing military and industrial strength, the Soviet Union emerged as the undisputed leader of eastern Europe. The U.S. had made enormous strides in economic and military strength in the twentieth century, culminating at the end of the War. American leaders also became leaders of the Western World. By 1945, then, the USSR had emerged as leader of the communist bloc and the U.S.A. as leader of the non-communist world.

To make sure that you understand just what a superpower is, read the following 1989 article about the two major superpowers. Then answer the questions that come after the article.

Decline & Fall

Superpowers come and superpowers go. For about 250 years before the time of Christ and about 400 years after, Rome was the superpower of Europe. For shorter periods countries such as France and Spain had their moments of supremacy.

The first global superpower was Great Britain. It controlled territory in every part of the globe and boasted that the sun never set on its Empire. But, Britain was the undisputed superpower for only about 25 years before dusk descended. Two world wars, and the effort of keeping control of its vast possessions, sapped all its strength. It suffered from what British historian Paul Kennedy calls “imperial overreach.”

The United States inherited the superpower mantle at the end of World War II. America saw its mission clearly; to bring capitalism and democracy to the rest of the globe. For two decades, the U.S. was the undisputed leader, and it played policeman for the world. It fought communism in Vietnam; propped up the defence of Western Europe; supported Israel against the hostility of every other Middle East

state; poured in aid after every disaster, whether natural or manmade. The U.S. could do this because of its vast wealth – it accounted for 40 percent of the world’s total Gross Domestic Product at the end of World War II.

Then, imperial overreach caught up with it. The commitments were just too much for the American people and economy to support. At the same time – the mid-1960s – the Soviet Union decided to challenge the leader. It directed its influence wherever it could, particularly among the newly independent states of Africa and Asia. Briefly – in the late 1970s – the Soviets seemed to have the Americans on the run and it looked as though a new superpower was about to rise.

But, imperial overreach very quickly caught up with Moscow too. (The Soviet Union may hold the world record for the shortest stay in first place). The Soviet economy could sustain the country’s global commitments only for a matter of months.

Now, the two nations that have dominated world politics for the last half century or so are in decline. The signs are everywhere.

The Soviet Union can't feed all its own people; it faces growing nationalist unrest among its own republics, particularly in the Baltic region; it can't produce the goods and services it needs in sufficient quantity or quality; it has withdrawn from most of its military adventures overseas.

There are just as many signs of decline in the fortunes of the United States. The country is being run on borrowed money; the quality of American education has been in decline for some time; American industry, which spends vast amounts of research dollars on developing new weapons, has lost its technology lead in the world

(the United States now accounts for only 16 percent of the world Gross Domestic Product); an epidemic of drug abuse and violence is undermining the social and spiritual base of the country.

The world is no longer dominated solely by the two superpowers; they have been joined by others. Japan, and Europe, are now members of the elite club at the top. China will likely get its membership card soon.

What kind of world we live in will depend upon how these five can work together in decision-making and burden-sharing. If any of them decides to make a play for sole possession of first place we can expect fireworks.¹

-
-
1. In 1989 what two nations were known as superpowers?

 2. From your reading of the preceding passage and your previous study of World War I, list the nations that were major powers from 1914 to 1919.

 3. What events led to the emergence of the two main superpowers?

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Decline & Fall," by Rupert J. Taylor, May 1989, p. 13. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

4. What evidence does the article give to indicate the decline of these two superpowers?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 1.

The term *superpower* has now been defined and the two nations that qualified as superpowers have been identified. How then did the U.S.A. and USSR compare in a number of important areas?

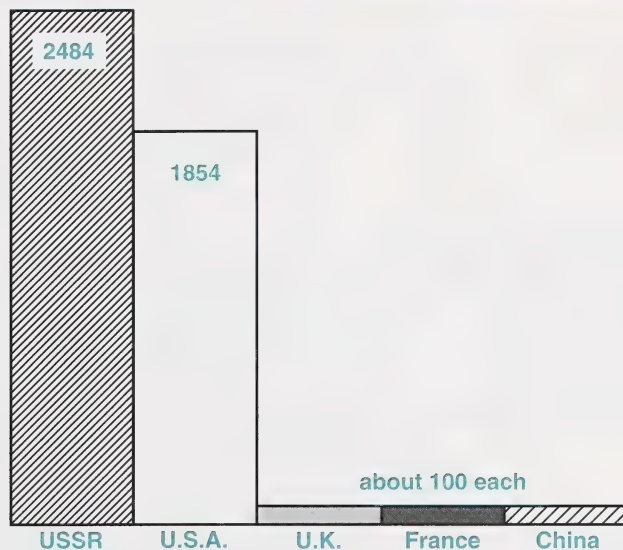
Refer to the following three sources and answer the questions that come after them.

Source 1: The Four Leading Countries in Terms of Size, Population, and Wealth			
Size (Area in square kilometres)			
USSR	Canada	China	U.S.A.
22 402 000	9 976 800	9 561 000	9 363 000
Population (1981)			
China	India	USSR	U.S.A.
982 600 000	686 200 000	267 600 000	230 800 000
Wealth (GNP in \$ billion 1981)			
U.S.A.	USSR	Japan	West Germany
2925.5	1212	1127	620

Source 2: Armed Forces			
USSR	China	U.S.A.	India
3 375 000	2 880 000	2 699 000	980 000

Strategic weapons: long-range missiles and bombs

Source 3: Strategic Weapons of the Nuclear Powers



5. One superpower does not dominate in all of the three important areas as indicated in Source 1. Why could you say that only the U.S.A. and the USSR were superpowers?

6. From the preceding three sources, use facts and statistics to show that the U.S.A. and the USSR were the only countries of the major powers listed that qualified as superpowers.

7. What disqualifies Canada from superpower status?

8. What general conclusion (generalization) can you make about the preceding statistical relationships? Choose the best one, and circle it.
- A. The superpower countries are the largest areas of the world.
 - B. To be a superpower, a country must have the greatest area, largest armed forces, most people, and greatest wealth.
 - C. The superpowers are nations whose military and political power is far greater than those of any other nation of the world, which gives them a major influence on all international affairs and interactions.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 1.

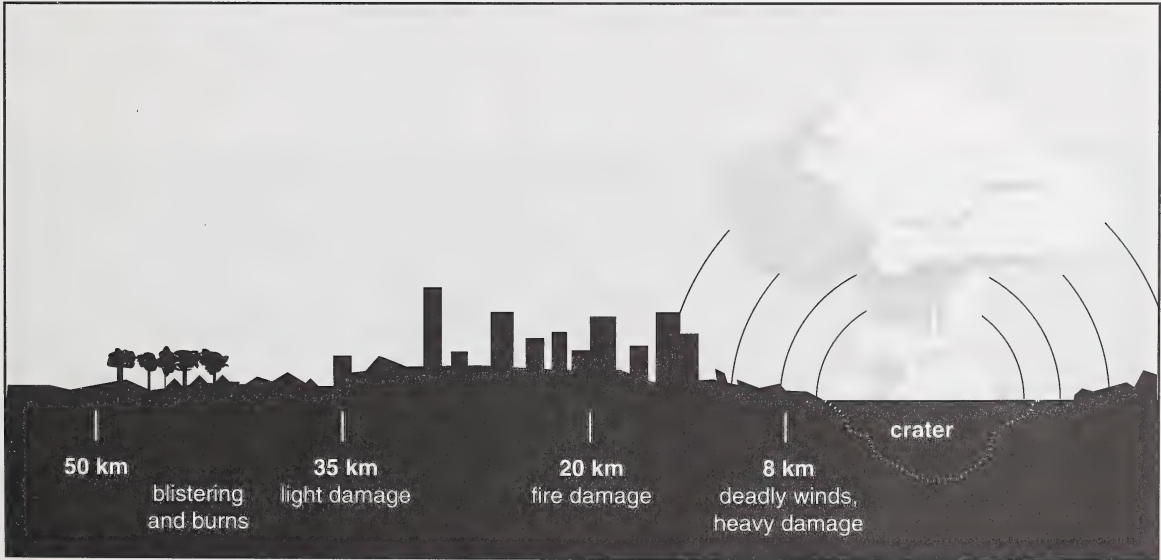
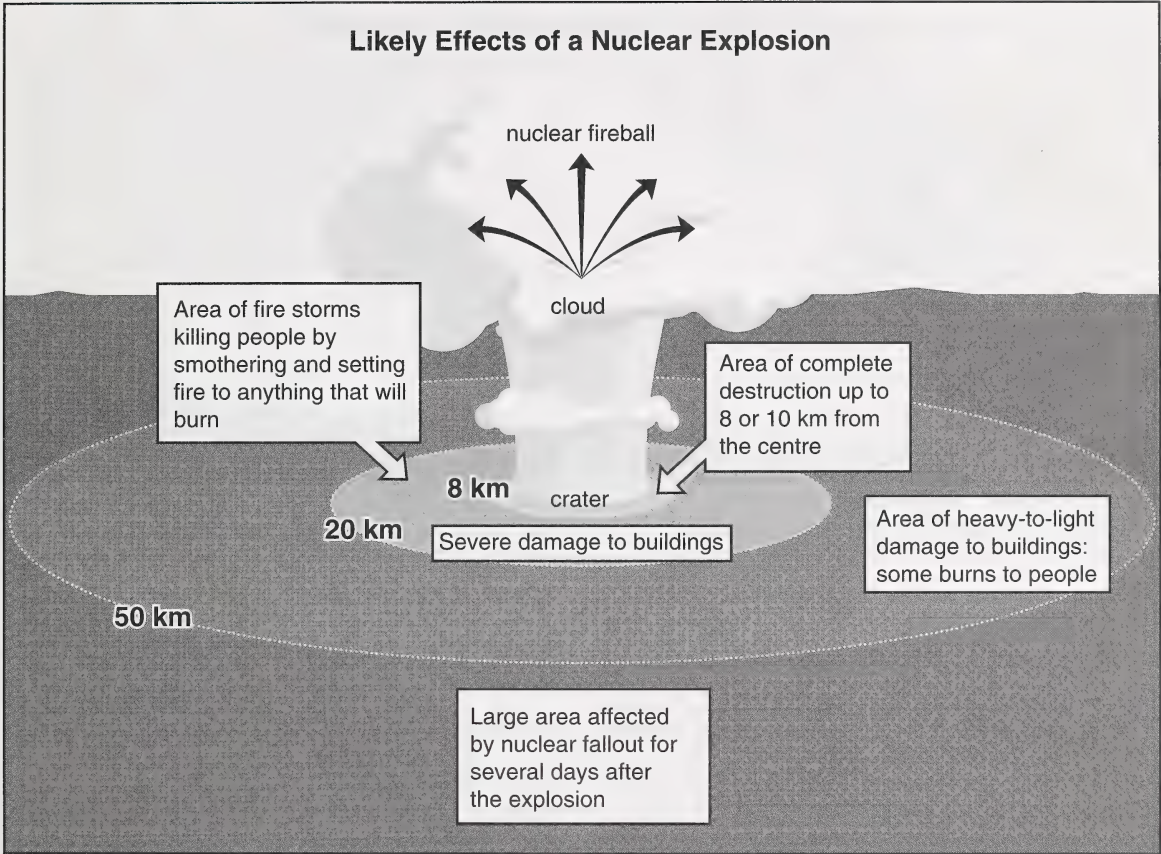
From the article “Decline and Fall,” which you read earlier in this activity, you were made aware of the changing status of the world’s superpowers as they were in 1989 when that article was written. With the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991, there was a steady decline in the amount of money spent on arms. The Soviet economy could not afford massive military spending and at the same time provide adequate basic services for the Soviet people. The two-superpower world disintegrated. At present, just one military superpower – the United States – remains.

Activity 2: Effects of a Nuclear Blast

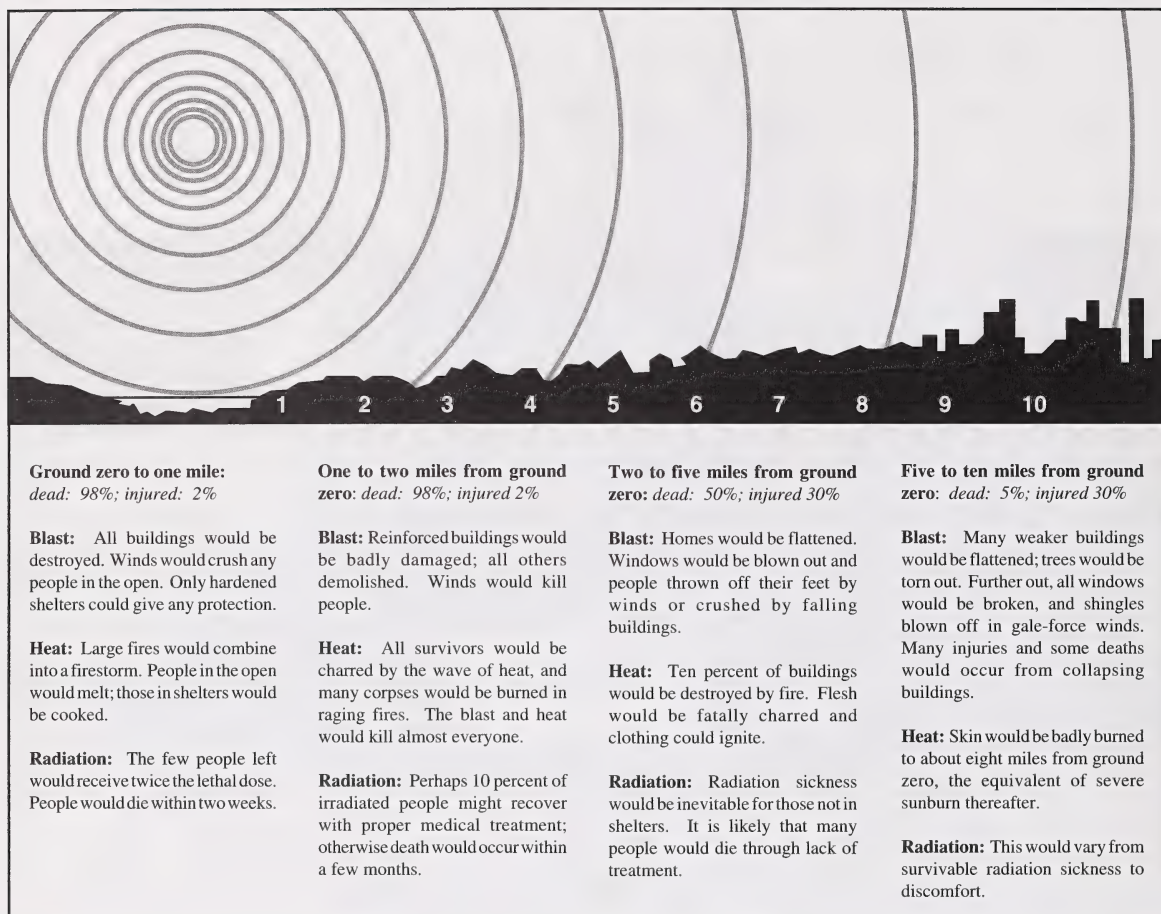
There is really no way of avoiding the effects of a total nuclear war if such a war occurs. Many believe that those who live far enough away to survive nuclear blasts will envy those who died instantaneously near “ground zero.”

Four Main Effects of a Nuclear Blast

- **The Flash:** Many report it is “whiter than the sun.” It can blind people sixty-five kilometres away who are looking.
- **The Heat:** Thermonuclear fallout is several millions degrees Centigrade at the centre. It can ignite flammable materials up to eighteen kilometres away.
- **The Blast:** There is an enormous pressure of air. The shock wave will flatten anything in its path.
- **Radiation:** It is surprisingly lethal considering that only 17% of the bomb’s energy comes from radiation. Those surviving the first round would be in danger of an agonizingly slow death from radiation sickness.



Instant Effects of a One-megaton Explosion



Stages of Radiation Sickness

I Intense Irradiation	II Medium Irradiation	III Mild Exposure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • great pain • massive hair loss • vomiting • diarrhea • massive internal hemorrhaging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diarrhea and vomiting within a few days • temporary recovery • hair loss • relapse into sickness • internal bleeding • lingering death 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • can result in cancer twenty to thirty years later

What general statement or conclusion can you make about the effects of a nuclear explosion?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 2.

Activity 3: Background to the Atomic Age

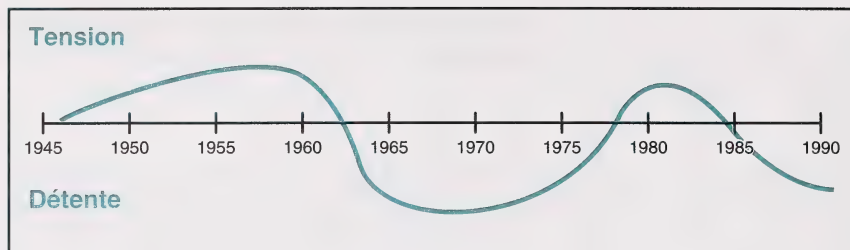
The Cold War developed at the conclusion of World War II. Most nations of the world allied themselves with either the communist bloc, led by the USSR or the non-communist (western) bloc, led by the U.S.A. This shift created a bipolar world where the balance of power was maintained by U.S.-dominated NATO against a Soviet-controlled Warsaw Pact. Conflict between the two blocs emerged by 1945, and Cold War confrontation climaxed in the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

The Cuban confrontation brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. It destabilized international affairs. Yet after the crisis, world leaders became more sensitive to the real possibility of nuclear weapons. As a direct result of the Cuban crisis, and the threat of nuclear war, the superpowers entered into a period of stabilized relations.

Probably one the greatest causes of modern anxiety to the young and old alike is the possibility of nuclear holocaust. The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 shocked the world. Many saw the Cold War as a possible “hot war,” waged with nuclear weapons. This was to affect superpower interactions and the foreign policies of all nations through the next three decades. Leaders of the world believed that the only means of global security was through the rather unstable concept of **mutual assured destruction** or **MAD**. This revelation led the superpower leaders to embark on a period of **peaceful coexistence** – an attempt to reach common understanding and cooperation, or *détente*.

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD): the concept that neither the U.S. nor the USSR could sustain a nuclear attack and still inflict unacceptable damage on the other

Peaceful coexistence: a policy announced in 1956 by Nikita Khrushchev advocating political rather than military competition between the superpowers



Effect of Nuclear Weapons on Superpower Relations

Stabilizer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • post-Cuban Crisis – period of détente • regional wars kept limited by proxy, e.g., Vietnam, Arab-Israeli Crises
Destabilizer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • period of weapons proliferation • arms race, e.g., cruise missile, MX missile, SDI

On the basis of what you have read, do the following exercise.

1. How did the Cuban Missile Crisis change the nature of superpower and global interactions?

2. What did the acronym *MAD* stand for?

3. How did MAD change the way the superpowers interacted with each other?

4. How did MAD maintain the balance of power?

5. In the context of superpower relations, what does the term *peaceful coexistence* mean?

6. Define the term *détente*.

7. How did nuclear weapons both stabilize and destabilize superpower relations?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Global Security and the Doomsday Clock

Security is a concern we all share. We are concerned for our personal security when facing a bully or for family security when worried about financial considerations.

But there is a larger issue. Communities worry about common security problems such as nearby sour-gas plants and crime. But what about our country? our world? What problems put the security of Canada and the global community in jeopardy?

*Doomsday clock: a clock that periodically appears on the cover of the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists**, indicating how close the world is to nuclear war. As global tensions increase, the clock's hands move closer to midnight.*

Global security: confidence among all nations that they will not be attacked – that the world as we know it will survive

Since Christmas Eve, 1947, the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, a publication that explores scientific and technological questions affecting the well-being of humanity, has published an imaginary clock to symbolize how far the world is away from nuclear war and probable annihilation. The “**doomsday clock**” came to symbolize the twentieth-century struggle for **global security**. If the clock’s minute hand was to reach twelve o’clock, a total nuclear war would be at hand and the survival of the world would be doubtful.

Toward Doomsday – A History of the Clock

1947

Seven Minutes to Midnight:

The clock is set to show the world how close we are to nuclear Armageddon.

1949

Three Minutes to Midnight:

The Soviet Union explodes its first atomic bomb.

1953

Two Minutes to Midnight:

The Soviet Union explodes its first hydrogen bomb, adding a new dimension to the nuclear arms race.

1963

Twelve Minutes to Midnight:

The aftershock of the Cuban Missile Crisis causes superpower leaders to relax the tensions of the Cold War and arms race. Signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty and halting nuclear tests in the atmosphere further ease international tension.

1969

Ten Minutes to Midnight:

Though the Vietnam war causes tensions, ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty creates hope that the spread of atomic arms might be contained.

1972

Twelve Minutes to Midnight:

The clock is put back after the U.S.A. and the USSR ratify the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the first arms limitation agreement.

1974**Nine Minutes to Midnight:**

SALT fails to make progress, and the arms race intensifies. India joins the nuclear weapons club. The Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident raises questions about the safety of nuclear power.

1980**Seven Minutes to Midnight:**

SALT II not ratified. Events in Iran and Afghanistan highlight the irrationality of national and international actions.

1983**Four Minutes to Midnight:**

As a result of several international incidents that heightened superpower and global tensions – e.g., tensions in Poland, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, international terrorism, Reagan's "get tough with Russians" policy – the clock is advanced.

1984**Three Minutes to Midnight:**

After careful calculations of forty-seven scientists (eighteen Nobel Prize winners) responding to the reluctance of nuclear leaders to talk and the preparedness to use nuclear weapons, the clock advances the closest it has been to doomsday in thirty years.

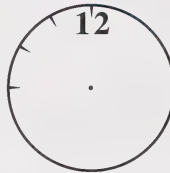
1992**Seventeen Minutes to Midnight:**

With the collapse of the Soviet Union comes an end to the Cold War and an easing of tension between the Soviet and American governments. With the tension relaxed, the clock is set at seventeen minutes before midnight, the furthest back it has ever been set.

1. Draw hands on each clock that follows to represent how close the world was to nuclear war according to the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* for each year given. Explain the event(s) or state of affairs that caused the clock to be placed at this time.

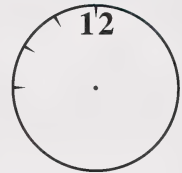
a.

1949



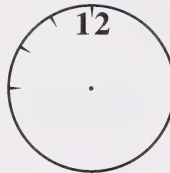
b.

1963



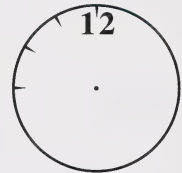
c.

1969



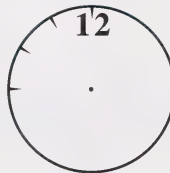
d.

1972



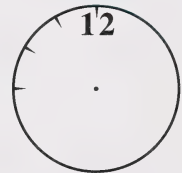
e.

1974



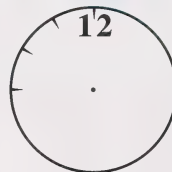
f.

1984



g.

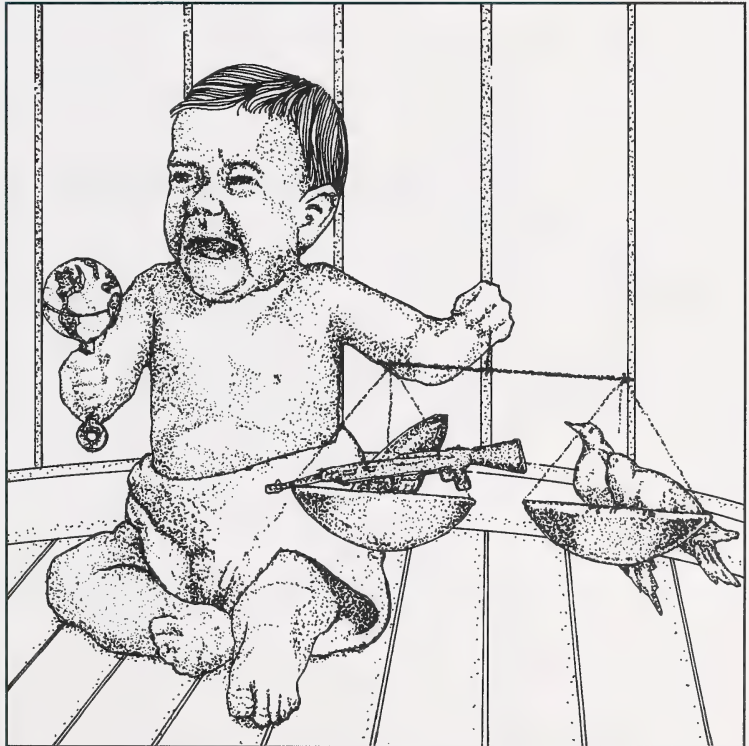
1992



2. What generalization can you make about the relationship between nuclear weapons and global security?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 4.

Activity 5: Protecting Global Security



Although people are quite often concerned about the survival of the planet and the probable outcome of a nuclear war, the world often finds itself precariously close to that very end.

During the Cold War era people had different views on how global security should be maintained. The most common views included the following:

- **Mutual Assured Destruction:** If the two superpowers did not maintain an approximate balance of power, one superpower or an ally would have been tempted to launch a war that it thought could be won. If both powers believed that a nuclear war would annihilate the world, then neither would use these weapons. In other words, the prospect of conflict that would destroy the world would prove to be the best deterrent to another world war.
- **Disarmament:** The only way to prevent a nuclear war was to stop making any other nuclear weapons and dismantle all existing weapons using cooperative measures. Proponents of this alternative argued that MAD was just not reliable enough to ensure world peace. If the weapons were there, they felt, some day they would be used. The only way to protect the security of the world was through cooperation.

Nuclear disarmament: the elimination of nuclear weapons around the world

1. In your own words, define *global security*.

2. In your own words, summarize the two alternative paths toward global security.

3. Which path do you think has the greatest hope for global security? Explain your answer.

4. Suggest one or two questions that you must ask to be able to support your decision more factually.

5. Refer to the cartoon shown at the beginning of this activity to answer the following questions.

- a. Who (or what) does the baby represent?

- b. Why is the baby crying?

- c. Explain this cartoon in relation to the issue and alternatives identified in this activity.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 5.

Activity 6: The Arms Race and the Balance of Power

The nuclear arms race, used to maintain the balance of power, was a source of controversy once both superpowers had acquired nuclear capability. The following chart shows the nuclear arms arsenal that had been built up by the superpowers by 1989.

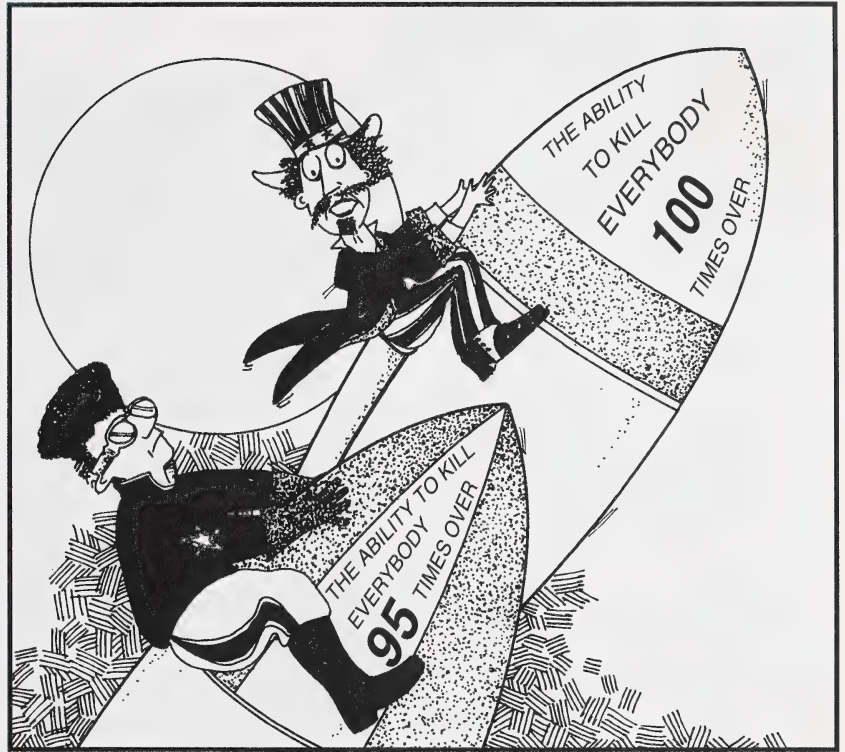
Soviet and U.S. Nuclear Weapons			
Soviet Union		United States	
Number		Number	
Land based	1 418	Land based	1 000
Sea based	928	Sea based	640
Bombers	325	Bombers	383
Total	2 671	Total	2 023
Total Warheads		Total Warheads	
Land based	6 440	Land based	2 289
Sea based	2 448	Sea based	5 632
Bombers	1 500	Bombers	3 940
Total	10 388	Total	11 861
Total Megatons*		Total Megatons	
Land based	3 687	Land based	1 046
Sea based	957	Sea based	410
Bombers	1 200	Bombers	1 658
Total	5 844	Total	3 144

* One megaton is an explosive force equal to one million tonnes of TNT

Note: One megaton is about 76 times as big as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the chart from *Canada and the World*, May 1989, p.20. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Use the following cartoon to answer the questions that come after it.



Oh-oh! He's gaining ground.

1. Who (or what) do each of the people in the cartoon represent?

2. What are they riding?

3. What do they symbolize?

4. What is the cartoonist saying about the arms race?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

From 1945 to 1949 only the United States had “The Bomb.” By 1949, however, the Soviets had detonated their own atomic bomb, thereby beginning the nuclear arms race.

The arms race took two forms:

- Improving technology; for example, the U.S. invented the hydrogen bomb in 1952.
- Increasing numbers of nuclear weapons; each side fought to have the largest arsenal.

All technological innovations in nuclear weapons had been developed by the superpowers. The superpowers had produced 95% of all nuclear weapons and were constantly adding to their arsenals.

5. Describe the two ways in which the superpowers had escalated the arms race.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

Escalation of the Nuclear Arms Race to 1975

	U.S.A.	USSR
First nuclear chain reaction	1942	1946
First atom bomb explosion	1945	1949
European alliances in effect	1949 NATO	1955 Warsaw Pact
First H-bomb explosion	1952	1953
Tactical nuclear weapons in Europe	1954	1957
Accelerated buildup of strategic missiles	1961	1966
First supersonic bomber	1960	1975
First ballistic missile-launching submarine	1960	1968
First solid rocket fuel used in missiles	1960	1968
Multiple warheads on missiles	1964	1973
High-speed reentry bodies (warheads)	1970	1975
Multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles on missiles	1970	1975
Computerized guidance on missiles	1970	1975

6. What important conclusion can you draw from the preceding chart? Support your answer with at least two statistics.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

Since you have already seen that China is an emerging superpower, it is important to note that it detonated its first nuclear weapon in 1964. Accordingly, China continues to make great strides in nuclear-weapon capability.

Beginning in the 1970s, the superpowers attempted to

- play their adversaries against one another
- prevent the emergence of new nuclear superpowers
- reduce arsenals while maintaining the balance of power

7. Why would the superpowers have wanted to do this?

8. What effect would such actions have had on the arms race?

9. Use the chart that follows to answer the question that comes after it.

Opposing Viewpoints – The Nuclear Arms Race	
Stabilized Global Interactions	Destabilized Global Interactions
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A balance through deterrence must be maintained.• The only way to deter was to keep up with the opposing superpower. Mutual deterrence was preventing another world war.• If one side perceived superiority, it would be tempted to use nuclear weapons.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A balance through deterrence was really a balance of terror.• An increase in armaments was unnecessary; we had deterrence long ago.• Preparing for war increased the probability of war.

Deterrence: a military doctrine according to which potential enemies are threatened with unacceptable damage through retaliation, thus preventing a possible attack

In your own words, summarize each argument presented in the preceding chart.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

10. Look at the cartoon and answer the question that follows it.



What is the main idea of this cartoon?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

The End of the Cold War

What a difference ten years makes. A decade ago, peace demonstrators by the tens of thousands were marching in the streets of major cities around the world. They were denouncing the arms race.

In April 1984, a peace march in Vancouver drew a crowd of 115,000. During the early 1980s, peace activists spent a night in early August each year drawing outlines of people on city sidewalks. The white shadows, which appeared in cities all over the world, were there to represent the citizens of Hiroshima who were vapourized when the first atomic bomb was dropped on 6 August 1945. In Europe, huge peace rallies were held to protest the deployment of Cruise missiles by NATO members. It was a time of great tension.

Ronald Reagan was the American President, and his opposite number in Moscow was Leonid Brezhnev – both men were Cold War warriors. Mr. Reagan distrusted and disliked everything to do with the Soviet Union and its allies. We weren't told much about Mr. Brezhnev's thoughts, but he probably felt much the same way about the United States and its friends. President Reagan called the Soviet Union an "evil empire," and he said Soviet leaders were "immoral, ready to

stop at nothing...to advance their goal of world domination."

Mr. Reagan, fearful that the U.S. was falling behind militarily, pumped vast amounts of money into re-building America's armed forces. During his eight years in office, he spent two trillion dollars on weapons and the people who operate them. In the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev and his two successors felt compelled to match the U.S. Just as with Mr. Reagan, they feared falling behind militarily. In the highest stakes poker game ever played, the leaders of the two countries stayed at the table and kept raising each others bets.

Then, along came Mikhail Gorbachev. He looked at what was happening and quickly realized the Soviet Union was bound to lose the game. The hopelessly inefficient Soviet economy couldn't keep up the pace set by American free enterprise. The Americans were spending about 6% of their Gross Domestic Product on arms. The Soviets, in trying to keep up, were diverting an estimated 15% of their Gross Domestic Product to military uses. With so big a chunk of the country's wealth going to the military there wasn't enough left over to provide adequate basic services to the Soviet people.

It was 1985, and Mr. Gorbachev

decided to get out of the arms race. The Americans won the poker game when the other player ran out of money.

Since then, there has been a steady decline in tension and in the money spent on arms. The Soviet Union is no longer the feared enemy we once

believed it to be. Now, we see that it was a Third World country that once boasted First World armed forces.

That leaves just one military superpower—the United States. Should we be concerned that America now stands unchallenged in the world?¹

As you know the Soviet Union ceased to officially exist as of January 1, 1992, and most of its former republics joined to form the Commonwealth of Independent States. With this change came the end of the arms race as the world had known it.

11. Why did the Soviet Union decide to get out of the arms race?

Canada's Role in the Nuclear Arms Race

Although Canada did not directly make nuclear weapons, it was indirectly involved in the nuclear arms race, as the following facts reveal.

Canada/U.S. Defence Production Agreement

- Canadian firms and branch plants could bid on American military contracts, e.g., Litton Industries in Rexdale, Ontario, made guidance systems for the **cruise missile**.
- The Canadian Defence Industry Productivity Program was established to improve production of military technology.
- Canada provided bases for the U.S. through NORAD
- Canada provided territory for the testing of weapons, e.g., cruise missile testing at Cold Lake, Alberta.

Cruise missile: a small, pilotless, jet aircraft that can fly at extremely low altitudes to avoid radar detection

It can deliver a nuclear weapon with great accuracy, and can be launched from airplanes, trucks, ships, or submarines.

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "The End of the Cold War," February 1992, p. 13. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

12. Do you think Canada should have been involved in the arms race? Explain your reasons.

Check your answer by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 6.

Activity 7: Nuclear Proliferation – Stabilization or Destabilization?

Nuclear proliferation: the spread of nuclear weapons
“Horizontal proliferation” refers to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nations that previously had none. “Vertical proliferation” refers to increases in a nation’s nuclear arsenal.

Nuclear proliferation is an important part of the arms race. Since the superpowers first exploded their bombs, several other nations have exploded their own. Several others are suspected of possessing the bomb.

Read the article “Joining the Club” and then complete the questions that follow.

Joining the Club

*Now that tensions between East and West
 have melted away we can all rest easy knowing we are safe
 from nuclear attack; think again*

It has been called the most exclusive club in the world. It is certainly one of the most dangerous. And, it is growing to include some unwelcome members.

The official nuclear club – nations which possess nuclear weapons – includes the United States, the former Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China. However, nuclear arms technology is spreading. Israel, India, Pakistan and South Africa possess some nuclear devices. North Korea, Algeria, Libya, and Taiwan are working to join the club. Iraq was

close to developing a nuclear bomb until the Gulf War intervened. And, Brazil and Argentina recently halted their nuclear arms projects.

The mechanism designed to restrict nuclear weapons technology is the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). It dates to 1968 and comes up for renewal in 1995. South Africa recently became the treaty’s 143rd signatory and France is expected to sign soon. That will leave China as the only major nuclear power which has not signed. The treaty means that if a country agrees not to develop nuclear

weapons, it will get help in developing peaceful nuclear projects. Signatories allow independent observers from the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect their nuclear sites.

Ironically, many people credit nuclear weapons with keeping peace between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War. The potential for mass destruction was so great that the two governments tried to avoid armed conflict. In 1963, they set up a hot-line telephone link between Washington and Moscow to reduce the possibility of misunderstandings. And, the leader of each country had to follow an intricate system of codes before a nuclear weapon could actually be fired.

Now that tensions between the superpowers have relaxed, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists has set back the Doomsday Clock. This symbolic clock was invented in 1945 by a group of scientists who wanted to help countries survive in the nuclear age. When it first appeared, the clock's hands were positioned at seven minutes to midnight – the hour that represents nuclear holocaust. Until recently, it was 10 to midnight. Now, the clock is farther from doomsday than ever before: 17 minutes to midnight.

This does not mean there is no risk of nuclear disaster. Although the risks of accidental nuclear war or of an accidental explosion are low, small-scale accidents have happened and will happen again. For example, in North Carolina in 1961, two nuclear bombs were parachuted out of a B-52 bomber that was about to crash. On landing, one bomb broke open, the other fired five of its six interlocking triggers. In 1966, when an American bomber crashed in Spain, the detonators of two nuclear bombs on board exploded, scattering radio-active debris. And in 1957, a Soviet nuclear weapon was "lost" near a test site. A shepherd discovered the intact bomb.

In 1990, computer simulations

showed that chemicals in several types of American nuclear warheads could accidentally explode. Scientists warned they could either set off a chain reaction leading to a nuclear blast or release radioactive material into the environment. One type of warhead was repaired and another type was withdrawn from use.

MEMBERS OF THE NUCLEAR CLUB

Current approximate worldwide stock of nuclear bombs or warheads:

Former Soviet Union	25,076
United States	19,000
France	600
Britain	300
China	100

Estimated bombs or devices:

Israel	60 to 100
India	40 to 60
South Africa	10 to 20
Pakistan	5 to 15

Military personnel deal almost daily with false alarms indicating an attack may be taking place. They have to evaluate whether the other side is just following precautionary military procedures, or is preparing for an actual attack.

Sensors frequently give off unusual warning signals, usually because of computer malfunctions or incorrect data. In 1980, a defective computer chip (worth about 46 cents) caused the warning system to indicate a massive Soviet attack. A nuclear alert was declared. The commander did not evaluate the situation quickly enough and the alert went to a high level before it was cancelled.

Most of these false alarms occurred during peacetime when anxiety levels were low. It might be harder to evaluate technical glitches during periods of political crisis.

Military leaders also try to avert

the possibility of a battlefield or submarine commander launching an unauthorized attack. In 1989, 2,400 of the 75,000 members of the U.S. military with access to nuclear weapons were removed from duty. They abused drugs or alcohol, had psychological or emotional problems, refused to follow orders or carried out criminal acts.

No similar figures are published for the Soviets, but some observers note the morale of military personnel there is extremely low. One report says that 10,000 servicemen and their families who serve in outposts where they maintain and transport nuclear arms lack adequate housing, despite extreme weather conditions.

During the attempted Soviet coup in August, coup leaders had possession of Mikhail Gorbachev's briefcase containing codes to authorize use of nuclear weapons. Some people worried they might do something rash. Soviet military officials took steps to reduce that possibility. They lowered the alert status of some nuclear weapons capable of striking the U.S., and ordered some mobile missiles back to base.

Now that the Soviet Union has broken up, there are new concerns about who controls its nuclear weapons. About 80% of the strategic warheads (the ones carried on missiles or bombers to threaten other nations) are located in the Russian Republic; the rest are in Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Kazakhstan. Some observers wonder if the newly independent republics might use nuclear weapons as bargaining chips.

So far, developments are reassuring. Ukrainian and Byelorussian leaders say they want their republics to be nuclear-free zones. The president of Kazakhstan ordered a nuclear weapons test site shut down.

Some observers, however, fear another scenario. The concern is that soldiers with the know-how to break through safeguards could steal small tactical warheads made for battlefield

use and sell them. Others worry that unemployed Soviet nuclear scientists and technicians may find work in undesirable places.

Secret nuclear weapons programs are underway in several countries. This changes the nuclear arms picture completely. The U.S. and USSR kept tight control over their huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons because they could easily destroy the world many times over. But with many countries, including some with unpredictable leaders, becoming nuclear powers, these arms could be used in future regional conflicts.

North Korea, which signed the NPT in 1985, is thought to be close to producing a nuclear weapon. It refuses to allow international inspectors to examine its nuclear facilities. However, satellite photos and interviews with a defector suggest these facilities are nearly complete, including a plant that could produce hundreds of kilos of weapons-grade plutonium. Experts also suspect underground nuclear facilities are being built elsewhere in North Korea.

This has North Korea's neighbours worried, because they see its government as unstable. The U.S. suggested Japan, China, the Soviet Union, and Americans together pressure North Korea to drop its weapons program. However, the Chinese and South Koreans said they did not want North Korea to feel it was being ganged up on.

Iraq's secret nuclear program was a year to 18 months away from producing a working atomic bomb. It has now been largely exposed by United Nations arms experts, following the terms of the ceasefire agreement that ended the Gulf War.

One inspector said the quality of work done by Iraqi scientists was better than any he had seen in North America and Europe. The Iraqis were working on hydrogen bombs, atom bombs, and

missiles. They had managed to obtain sensitive and restricted technologies from many foreign sources.

At first, the Iraqis (also NPT signatories) denied having a nuclear weapons program. They did not assist inspectors until the allies threatened a renewed military attack. It took a defector to point investigators in the right direction. When the inspectors seized thousands of pages of documents, Iraqi soldiers barricaded them in a Baghdad parking lot for more than four days. Although much of Iraq's nuclear program was destroyed by bombs during the Gulf War, UN inspectors worry that the country has the skill and equipment to revive it. They still accuse Iraq of concealing material needed to produce weapons.

Pakistan felt the weight of international pressure when, in 1990, Washington halted all military and economic aid to that country. After a 20-year secret development program that included the smuggling of crucial parts, Pakistan has apparently succeeded in making several bombs. Pakistan, which has fought three wars with India since 1941, will not admit to having nuclear weapons, but last summer the prime minister threatened to go to war if his country's nuclear sites are attacked.

In the case of Brazil, international pressure has apparently been more successful. In 1990, Brazil's president announced his country was closing its secret nuclear weapons program. In return, the government hoped that European countries and the U.S. would give it access to sophisticated computers and rocket-fuel technology that they wouldn't sell it before. But Brazil refuses to sign the NPT and allow international inspections, saying the treaty discriminates against developing nations.

Many non-nuclear nations feel the spread of this technology to Third World countries is the greatest danger facing our planet. Now that the Cold War is over, they question the role of nuclear weapons in world politics.

They urge the five official nuclear club members to show good faith and agree to a total ban on nuclear weapons testing. So far, they haven't been able to persuade them to do so. An American arms reduction negotiator recently suggested that, while the world is leaving a period of high stability and high confrontation, it is "moving toward a time of lower confrontation but more uncertainty." Nuclear weapons are the best assurance of stability in unstable times, he said.¹

List the countries under the following categories:

1. Already have nuclear weapons or devices:

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Joining the Club," by Janice Hamilton, February 1992, pp. 17–19. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

2. Bomb capability within a few years:

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 7.

As you have seen when studying deterrence, there are two schools of thought as to what nuclear proliferation means to the maintenance of international peace and security:

- The spread of nuclear weapons is a destabilizing threat that must be controlled. Analysts who take this position see nuclear proliferation as one of the most urgent arms control issues facing the international community today. Here are some reasons:
 - Often new members of the “nuclear club” are politically unstable and volatile nations.
 - This situation creates more decision makers capable of launching a nuclear war.
 - Proliferation of nuclear weapons increases the likelihood of their being used.
- While countries may continue to develop nuclear technology, they may not resort to actual development of nuclear weapons. Analysts who take this position minimize the instability created by the building of nuclear weapons by other countries. They say that there is no immediate danger to international peace and security even if some countries do acquire nuclear weapons. They argue that rather than destabilize the world, nuclear weapons have kept the peace over the last forty-five years.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

In Section 1 you have reviewed the meaning of the term *superpower* and have examined the issue of global security. The *arms race*, *MAD*, *deterrence*, *balance of power*, *stabilization*, *destabilization*, and *nuclear proliferation* are all terms with which you should by now be familiar.

To make sure that you do understand these expressions, define each of the following in your own words.

- 1. Global Security: _____

- 2. Stabilization (of international relations): _____

- 3. Destabilization (of international relations): _____

- 4. Arms race: _____

- 5. Mutual Assured Destruction: _____

6. Mutual deterrence: _____

7. Balance of power: _____

8. Nuclear proliferation: _____

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Extra Help.

Enrichment

Generalizations are general statements that can be arrived at by analysing a number of specific facts or statements; for example, if you know of many cars made by Company X that have had brake problems, you might arrive at the generalization that Company X's cars tend to have poor brakes.

You must of course, be careful not to **overgeneralize**. If you are aware of two similar-model cars that have faulty brakes, it is not fair to arrive at the universal generalization that **all** such cars have bad braking systems.

Bearing this in mind, think about the material you have studied in this module and come up with two defensible generalizations based on that material.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Enrichment.

Conclusion

In Section 1 you have seen that the development of nuclear weapons has been viewed as both a stabilizing and destabilizing influence in superpower relations.

ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the assignment for this section.

Assignment
Booklet

Spheres of Influence and Global Interactions



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Recently we have heard much about the NIMBY phenomenon. Faced with the possibility of having a garbage dump, a toxic waste disposal centre, an airport, or a sour gas plant close to their homes, people have screamed loud and clear, “*Not in my back yard!*”

The prospect of having such undesirable sites close to our homes seems to affect our territorial imperative; it invades our “sphere of influence.” After 1963, both superpowers took action to protect their spheres of influence. Often this resulted in each superpower’s involvement in regional wars in the Third World. After finishing this section you should be able to

- apply the concept of “sphere of influence” to superpower conflicts in Vietnam, Central America, eastern Europe, and the Middle East
- apply the concept of “limited war” to fighting in Vietnam and Central America
- describe expansionist actions in various regions of the world
- explain how the aggressive actions of the superpowers harmed the independence of smaller nations

Activity 1: The War in Vietnam

A Quick Review

During the period of the Cold War, the superpowers worked to do the following:

- maintain the extent of the territory under their control
- stop the opposing superpower from gaining any more territory, especially in areas close to their own nation
- expand their control to territories of strategic importance, especially close to the other superpower's backyard

As you saw in the previous section, MAD (mutual assured destruction) had been a stabilizing and destabilizing force in international affairs. But the world was being drawn closer to the nuclear abyss each time the superpowers became involved in various regional conflicts occurring in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. These **proxy wars** enabled the superpowers to fight the Cold War through other Third World nations.

Proxy: a person (or in this case a country) empowered by another to act for that other

Proxy war: a regional, limited war, often fought in and by Third World countries, in which superpowers become involved to further their interests

In Module 7: The Rise and Interaction of the Superpowers, you learned the meaning of the terms *sphere of influence*, *expansionism*, *containment*, *balance of power*, and *independence*. These terms are of great importance to this module and section as well. In this section you will reapply these concepts through the study of indirect superpower confrontations in Vietnam, Central America, and eastern Europe throughout the last three decades.

The Vietnam War: An Overview

No doubt you have been exposed to the Vietnam War through popular movies and television programs. Movies such as *Platoon* and *Tour of Duty* showed a particular side of the conflict. But the war in Vietnam remains one of the most complex historical developments of the twentieth century. Why did the war break out? How was France involved? Why was World War II an important watershed in recent Southeast Asian history? How and why did the superpowers become involved?

The greatest costs of the war in human and economic terms were suffered by Vietnam and its people. This war, the longest in the twentieth century, had deep historical roots. Eventually it became a war in which the superpowers were heavily involved—a proxy war. The United States supported South Vietnam while the USSR backed the North. Each superpower fought the war by proxy; it was an indirect confrontation in that the superpowers stopped short of confronting each other directly. MAD and the experiences of the Cuban Missile Crisis forced the superpowers to respect mutual deterrence and therefore avoid a direct confrontation.

Southeast Asia



Vietnam – Vital Statistics

Length of War: 1960–1975

Number of people killed:
1 800 000

Number of Americans killed:
50 000

Cost of war to U.S.A.:
\$30 billion per year

The U.S. intervened in Vietnam to stop the spread of communism and to further its economic interests; that is to say, the multinationals. The USSR justified its involvement in Vietnam to protect “oppressed people.”

Historical Background of the War

In the nineteenth century, France colonized Indochina, which included the countries of Laos, Cambodia (now Kampuchea), Vietnam, and eastern Siam (now Thailand). Before World War II, a nationalist movement emerged. Its goal was to achieve self-determination or independence from its French colonial masters. During World War II, Vietnam was occupied by the Japanese. After the war ended in 1945, France tried to regain control of its former Indochinese colonies. As they had with their Japanese captors, many nationalist Vietnamese people resisted French postwar efforts; and eventually war erupted.



The strongest resistance to French colonial control occurred in northern Vietnam. The movement was led by Ho Chi Minh, a communist and a brilliant master of guerrilla warfare. He led his Viet Minh on a fierce and successful campaign against the Japanese and French. In 1954, his forces surrounded and defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu.

In 1954, a peaceful settlement was sought in Geneva. As a result of the armistice agreement, Indochina was divided into three separate nations: Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The Geneva Agreements ended French control. A communist government was established in North Vietnam and a “non-communist” government was formed in South Vietnam. Elections were to be held in 1956 to unite the country, but they never took place. The U.S.A. was not prepared to allow elections because it was clear that Ho Chi Minh would win.

Ho Chi Minh’s nationalist North Vietnamese government was denied control of all of Vietnam through legal means. His government began continual guerrilla warfare and provided aid to South Vietnamese communists, called Viet Cong. The Viet Cong used guerrilla fighters to try to overthrow the U.S.-backed government in South Vietnam.

Now do the following exercises.

1. a. Where was Indochina?

-
- b. Which countries were included in Indochina?

2. Why were some Vietnamese people fighting France?

3. Define the following terms:

-
- a. Colonialism

b. Nationalism

c. Self-determination

4. Who was the leader of the Vietnamese nationalist resistance movement in the North?

5. How did the French first lose control of Indochina?

6. Define *guerrilla warfare*.

7. When, how, and where were the French defeated by nationalist Vietnamese forces?

8. What were the two major consequences of the Geneva Agreements of 1954?

9. Why were the Vietnamese elections of 1956 not held?

10. Who were the Viet Cong?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

Indirect Superpower Confrontation in Vietnam

The superpowers gradually became involved in the war in Vietnam. Initially, the U.S.A. was reluctant to become involved in the conflict. However, in keeping with his policy of containment, President Truman had already sent \$4 billion from 1950 to 1954. Also in 1954, following the Geneva Conference, the U.S.A. led the formation of the **Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)** to coordinate defence against aggression in Southeast Asia. The American government also helped South Vietnam to prepare to defend itself in the inevitable confrontation between the two states.



Even before the fall at Dien Bien Phu, President Eisenhower stated; “The loss of Indochina will cause the fall of Southeast Asia like a set of dominoes.” This phrase gave rise to the expression **the domino effect** and became the major justification for American involvement against communist aggression. This, of course, harks back to the **Truman Doctrine** of containment.

After the French and South Vietnamese governments had pleaded with the U.S. for support, American involvement in the war gradually grew. With each successive president, American military aid expanded. As each American president sent in more support, the North Vietnamese increased their commitment.

SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization): a defence pact designed by the U.S.A. in 1954 to protect Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam from communist advances. The signing went against the principles of the Geneva Accords.

Domino effect: a theory used by the U.S.A. in connection with its involvement in Southeast Asia and Central America. The countries of Southeast Asia and Central America were likened to a row of dominoes with South Vietnam (in Southeast Asia) and Cuba (in Central America) being the first in the row. If they fell under communist control, then so eventually would other countries in the region – like a row of dominoes.

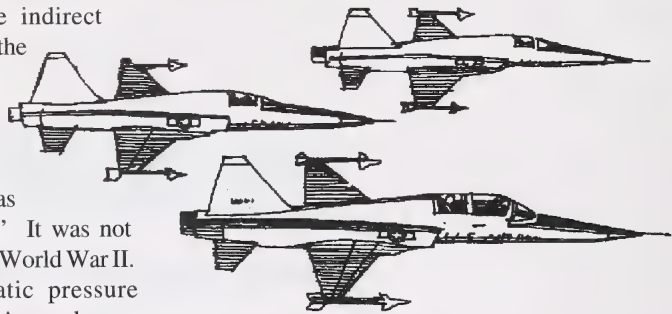
Truman Doctrine: a policy announced in March 1947 in which President Truman offered economic assistance to any nation willing to fight the spread of communism.

The U.S. began involvement in Vietnam simply by sending supplies and military advisors to help South Vietnam. This did not stop the communists. North Vietnam turned to the USSR and China for help. Thus, the superpowers became indirectly involved in the Vietnam War. As the war escalated, the Soviet Union used its proxy, North Vietnam, to fight the Americans' proxy, South Vietnam.

In 1956, the U.S. sent a large military force into South Vietnam. American soldiers were sent into the jungles of Vietnam to fight the Viet Cong. Gradually American planes began to bomb communist targets. By 1965, the U.S. was deeply involved in the struggle against the Viet Cong, who were supported by North Vietnam and the USSR. Both superpowers sought to maintain the balance of power in Southeast Asia, which ultimately caused the **escalation** of the war. As one side increased its commitment to the war, the other would expand its forces.

Escalation: a term used to describe an increase in military involvement and aid

In spite of the indirect involvement of the USSR and direct military action by the U.S.A., the Vietnam War was a "limited war." It was not "total war" as in World War II. When diplomatic pressure failed, the U.S.A. used more and more force in an attempt to achieve its goals in Vietnam.



Now complete the exercise that follows.

11. Briefly summarize how superpower involvement in Vietnam caused the escalation of the War.

12. What was SEATO?

13. How was American involvement in Southeast Asia in keeping with the Truman Doctrine of containment?

14. a. What is war by proxy?

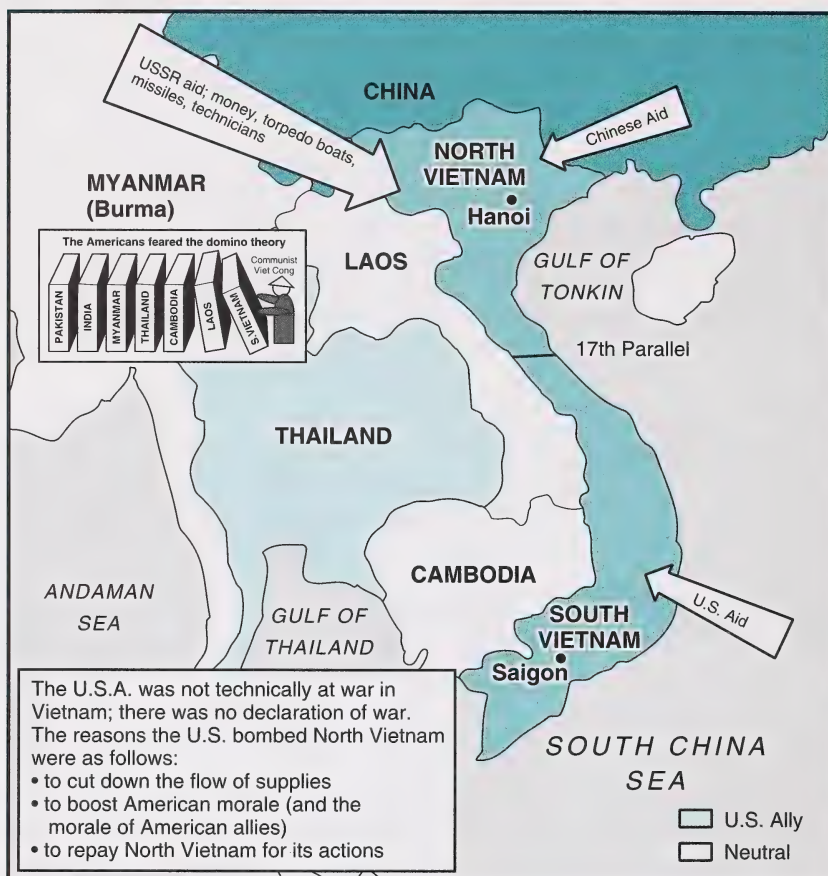
b. How was this technique used by the superpowers to avoid a direct confrontation?

15. How did the superpowers’ struggle to maintain the balance of power in Southeast Asia contribute to the escalation of the Vietnam War?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

Refer to the map that follows to answer questions 16 and 17.

The War in Vietnam



16. a. Was the U.S. technically at war in Vietnam?

b. Why, then, did American bombers shell the North?

17. List the countries that the U.S. feared would “fall like dominoes.”

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

During (and after) the war in Vietnam, there was a great deal of controversy as to whether the U.S.A. should have been involved at all. Study the arguments in the chart that follows.

American Involvement in Vietnam?

Arguments For	Arguments Against
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The war was an attempt by communist forces to seize control of Vietnam. The U.S.A. was justified in trying to stop them.• The military actions of the U.S.A. were necessary to defend the independence of South Vietnam.• The entry of the U.S. into the conflict was legal on the basis of American defensive agreements with South Vietnam and SEATO.• The Vietnam War was part of an international struggle; if Vietnam fell to the communists, so would Asia (domino effect).• Peace should be the goal, but any act of appeasement toward the enemy would have been dangerous.• A United States withdrawal from Vietnam would have brought a loss of confidence in American promises.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The war was a civil conflict between the people of Vietnam. The U.S.A. had no right to intervene.• The military actions of the U.S.A. were responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent people.• The U.S. entry was illegal because the Charter of the United Nations barred its members from any unilateral use of force.• By 1969, 40 711 men had been killed, 220 000 had been wounded, and billions of dollars had been spent; but no clear victory was in sight.• The costs of the War contributed to internal American problems like poverty and racism.• The U.S. was supporting a regime that did not represent its own people.

Unilateral: done or undertaken by one person or party (as opposed to collective)

18. Do you think that the United States should have become involved in the war in Vietnam? Support your argument in a paragraph or two.

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

The End of the War

In 1968, North Vietnam and the U.S. entered peace negotiations in Paris. In 1969, President Nixon began the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and commenced the “Vietnamization” of the conflict – turning more of the fighting over to the South Vietnamese forces and trying to convince the Vietnamese people that the U.S.A. was there as a friend, not an enemy.

One of the key reasons for the failure of the Vietnamization Policy was ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is the tendency for one group to consider themselves superior to another group or culture. The Americans assured the Vietnamese that they hoped to make Vietnam a united, independent democracy; however, the Vietnamese tended to see the Americans as foreign invaders. The U.S. was never really successful in winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people.

In Paris, on January 27, 1973, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, the U.S.A., and the Viet Cong ratified an agreement to end the fighting. The people of Vietnam themselves were to determine their own route to independence. But by 1975, the North was again pushing into the South. In April, Saigon fell and the government of South Vietnam surrendered. Communists, called the Khmer Rouge, also gained control of Cambodia.

American troops and workers quickly withdrew, and the superpower confrontation in Vietnam was largely over. The American policy of containment in Vietnam had failed.

19. Where and when did peace talks between the belligerents (those fighting) take place?

20. What was Nixon’s policy of “Vietnamization” of the war?

21. a. When did the war end?

- b. What were the circumstances surrounding the end of the war?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

Summary – The Vietnam War

22. Complete the chart that follows.

Nation	Main Reason for Intervention	Explanation
U.S.A.	containment	
USSR	balance of power	

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

Activity 2: The USSR and Its Sphere of Influence

The USSR became involved in a number of crises in eastern Europe through the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The reasons, however, were different from those that resulted in American involvement in Vietnam. The Americans were worried about the domino effect if Vietnam fell to the communists. The Soviets were concerned about events within their sphere of influence.

Following World War II, the USSR expanded its sphere of influence well into eastern Europe. As Soviet troops advanced on Germany from the east during World War II, the USSR liberated countries that were occupied by the Nazis. These countries, in turn, were occupied by Soviet armies.

After the war, Stalin and his government set out to retain these occupied countries and add them to the Soviet empire. These new “satellite” countries held great importance for the USSR. Not only would they supply the Soviet Union with a cheap source of raw materials, labour, and markets, but they would also be of strategic importance in the Cold War struggle with the U.S.A. Satellite states would provide the USSR with a buffer zone against an attack from NATO and would also extend the Soviet sphere of influence. This Cold War expansionism would prove to be a major source of conflict between the superpowers.



Czechoslovakia

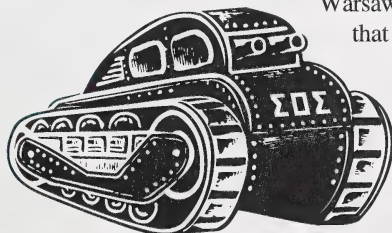
The Soviet Union liberated Czechoslovakia at the conclusion of World War II and established a communist government, favourable to the Soviets, in 1948. The communist regime in Czechoslovakia consolidated its leadership, using secret police to intern and exile potential opponents to the new government. “Opponents” to the regime were subjected to show trials where they were forced to read confessions prepared by the government. Many of these people were exiled to forced labour camps for long terms.

By the end of the 1950s, a movement had emerged in Czechoslovakia which, while being deeply socialist, was critical of the hardline policies of the Czech and Soviet governments. Success for this movement came in 1967 when Alexander Dubcek became leader of Czechoslovakia. Most Czechs supported Dubcek in his call to combine all that they saw as good about the complete socializing of the economy with the benefits of liberal freedoms. Among Dubcek’s reforms were these:

- political opposition to the government would be allowed
- greater freedom of speech would be granted

This began the “Prague Spring” – the period of great hope for Czechoslovakia.

Although the Czech government clearly stated that it had no intention of leaving the Warsaw Pact, Soviet Premier Brezhnev was concerned that reform ideas would spread to other satellite countries or even to the USSR itself. In



August 1968, Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia and ended the “Prague Spring.” Dubcek was eventually replaced by Gustav Husak, who followed the Soviet line.

Brezhnev justified his actions by claiming that the USSR, as a communist nation, had a duty to stop any threat to established communism in any country. This came to be known as the “Brezhnev Doctrine,” and was seen as a clear warning to other eastern European countries. Brezhnev did not want any communist nation within the Soviet

sphere of influence to break rank. He was worried about three possibilities if Czechoslovakia weakened the Soviet sphere of influence:

- Defence against NATO and other western allies would be weakened.
- Other satellite states may be tempted to follow the Czech example, further weakening successful Soviet postwar expansionism.
- This would alter the balance of power in favour of the U.S.A. and NATO.

Now answer these questions:

1. How did the communists assume power in Czechoslovakia?

2. What methods of control were used by the communist government?

3. How did the people of Czechoslovakia eventually react to this regime in the 1950s and 1960s?

4. Who was Alexander Dubcek?

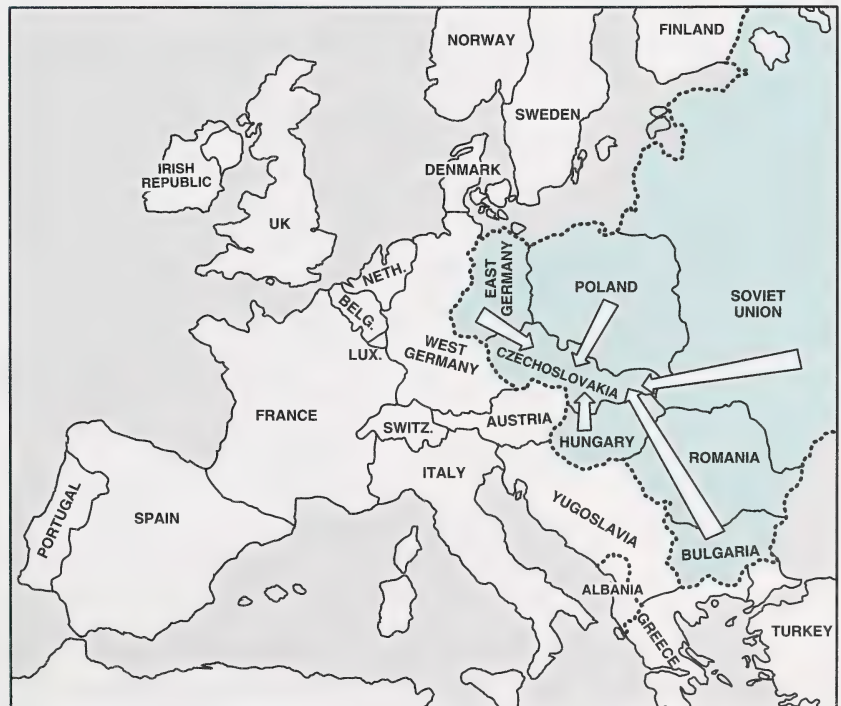
5. What was the “Prague Spring”?

6. a. What was the “Brezhnev Doctrine”?

- b. How was it used to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

The 1968 Invasion of Czechoslovakia



In 1968, then, the Soviet Union, along with several Warsaw Pact allies invaded Czechoslovakia to reestablish a full communist government. There are three points to be noted about this invasion:

- Though Dubcek's reforms did not really endanger Soviet security, at that time the USSR was not prepared to take risks with a country bordering on the West.
 - This crisis underlined the Soviet determination at that time not to allow any criticism of its form of government.
 - The invasion caught NATO by surprise, but it quickly sent troops to the West German frontier, claiming that the crisis demonstrated the importance of maintaining a military presence in Europe.
7. What general conclusion can be made about balance of power between the superpowers on the basis of the invasion of Czechoslovakia?

8. Explain how the events in Czechoslovakia illustrate the following key concepts.

a. Sphere of influence

b. Balance of power

c. Expansionism

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

In late 1989 there were some dramatic changes in Czechoslovakia. The Communist Party removed its leader and promised to allow free elections. The country was allowed to move towards a market economy. Then on January 1, 1993, Czechoslovakia was split into two independent nations – the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. This split came about as a result of the Slovaks wanting more control over affairs in their eastern half of Czechoslovakia. The split was not made without some problems, but the two countries have managed to avoid the violence that exists in Yugoslavia which you will learn about later in this module. The Czech Republic wants to move more rapidly towards a free market economy, while the Slovak Republic, which has a weaker economy, wants a slower pace of reform.

Poland

Generally, the crises of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980 were rooted in similar causes. In both situations people sought reforms and more freedom from the Soviet Union. But while Czechoslovakia was invaded by the USSR, the Polish government was warned to deal with its dissident movement itself or face the possibility of invasion.

Poland, 1981



By 1948 the governments of all the countries of eastern Europe, including Poland, were under communist control. The U.S.A. and the West saw this as an attempt by the USSR to dominate the world.

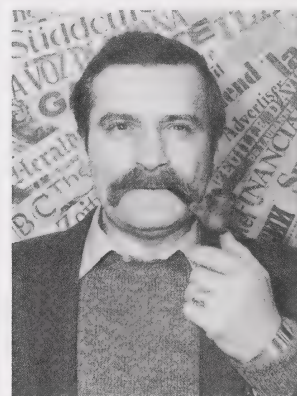
In 1953, Stalin died. The new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, began to denounce Stalin, and the USSR embarked on a program of “de-Stalinization.” This encouraged Poland to try to free itself from Soviet domination. In 1956, Polish workers rioted for higher pay and better working conditions. The Polish leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka, established some nominal reforms, which the Soviet Union reluctantly allowed. Poland stayed within the Warsaw Pact.

By 1980 Polish people again began to cry out for reform. Poland faced massive economic problems—debt and shortages of basic foods and raw materials. Throughout the 1970s Poles had to endure rising prices for food (often imported), shortages of food staples, and long lines at shops. Many people blamed the communist leadership in Poland, which the masses saw as the privileged class.

In the summer of 1980, led by shipyard workers of the **Solidarity** union in Gdansk, workers began a series of strikes to protest shortages, long lines at shops, and high prices.

In October, a victory was won – an event unprecedented in a communist country. The government officially recognized Solidarity as an independent trade union. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa became a hero and a symbol of the Polish people’s struggle.

During the next several months, Walesa led the workers on a series of demonstrations. Throughout this process, the Soviet government repeatedly warned the Polish government that it must remain a loyal ally of the Soviet bloc; it must remain within the Soviet sphere of influence.



BETTMANN

In February 1981, the Soviet Union threatened invasion, and Wojciech Jaruzelski became head of the Polish government. In March a nationwide protest against police brutality took place. Millions of Poles took to the streets for a national hunger strike.

In the fall, Solidarity called for free elections and several other key reforms. In response, the Polish government banned strikes.

In December, Solidarity called for a national referendum on whether the communist party should continue to govern Poland. This the government could not tolerate, so it declared martial law; civil rights were suspended, union activity and Solidarity was banned, its leaders arrested and imprisoned. Poland was under military rule.

Solidarity: an umbrella federation of trade unions in Poland that became a strong political force of ten million members led by Lech Walesa

The union was declared illegal under martial law in 1982, but later became an official opposition party in the Polish parliament.

Clearly, the Polish government heeded the warnings from the Kremlin. To prevent Soviet intervention, Jaruzelski cracked down on Solidarity and suppressed the growing popular movement of dissidents.

The U.S. and the West were very critical of the imposition of martial law, but would not risk a major confrontation at that time. A number of economic sanctions, however, were placed on the Soviet Union.

After this, though, Solidarity's leaders were released and Solidarity reemerged. Walesa again won a number of key reforms, but he went more slowly. In 1989, Solidarity was allowed to field candidates in the Polish elections, in which they won a great percentage of the popular vote.

Poland is on its way towards evolving into a truly democratic country. Free elections are being held. The economy is moving to a market economy.

9. Why did Poland find itself within the Soviet bloc?

10. What were the major grievances of the Polish people throughout the 1970s?

11. What is Solidarity?

12. As reforms were achieved in Poland, exactly what was the role of the USSR?

13. In December 1981, what did the Polish government feel itself forced to do?

14. Describe the present state of affairs in Poland.

15. What conclusion can be drawn about the relationship of the events in Poland, spheres of influence, self-determination, and the superpowers?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

Afghanistan

Although Afghanistan is in the Middle East, it was still within the Soviet sphere of influence. Afghanistan shared a common border with the USSR and was important to the USSR mainly because of its strategic geographic location and its proximity to Middle East oil supplies. As in Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Soviets believed that the Afghan reform movement was pulling Afghanistan away from the USSR's sphere of influence. This could not be tolerated by Soviet leaders. Again the Soviet army intervened in a nation's self-determination and invaded Afghanistan in 1979.

The War in Afghanistan



By the time Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan on December 24, 1979, a civil war was already being fought. Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin had tried to remove Muslim traditions and had angered many Afghans. Some had fled to other countries, but many stayed to fight. The most formidable of these fighters were the *mujahedeen* – Muslim guerrillas who had been fighting Amin’s government.

The Soviets claimed that Amin asked them for help against the rebels. Amin was killed and replaced with Babrak Karmal, who set up a new pro-Soviet government. The Soviet army stayed on to fight the *mujahedeen*.












Many analysts believe that the Soviets found their own Vietnam in Afghanistan. The poorly equipped *mujahedeen* knew their countryside well and fought a successful campaign against the superpower Soviets. Guerrillas attacked supply convoys, as well as electricity and oil supply lines to Kabul. By 1984, a stalemate had developed. The Soviets had enough troops to control the cities but not the countryside.

The U.S.A. reacted to the invasion of Afghanistan by refusing to ratify SALT II and boycotting the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. Embargoes were placed on technological and grain exports to the USSR. The U.S.A. also gave some military aid to the guerrillas through Pakistan. Eventually the Soviets withdrew in 1988.

Table 1: Superpower Reactions to the Afghanistan Crisis

USSR	U.S.A.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Afghanistan is a border neighbour within the Soviet sphere of influence.• The USSR had supported the government of Afghanistan before 1979 and supported the new government led by Karmal.• Afghanistan is close to oil supplies for the U.S. and the West.• The USSR was afraid that a Muslim revolution in Afghanistan might spill into the USSR, where Muslims also lived. They would then pressure the Soviets for self-determination.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Afghanistan is a neighbour of Iran, with which the U.S.A. had close links before the removal of the Shah and the seizure of U.S. hostages.• Afghanistan is close to Middle East oilfields. These are very important to the U.S.• The U.S.A. feared an increase in Soviet power in the Middle East. This would upset the balance of power.• The U.S.A. was afraid that the Soviets might advance towards the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf for southern water ports for the Soviet navy, thus extending the Soviet sphere of influence.

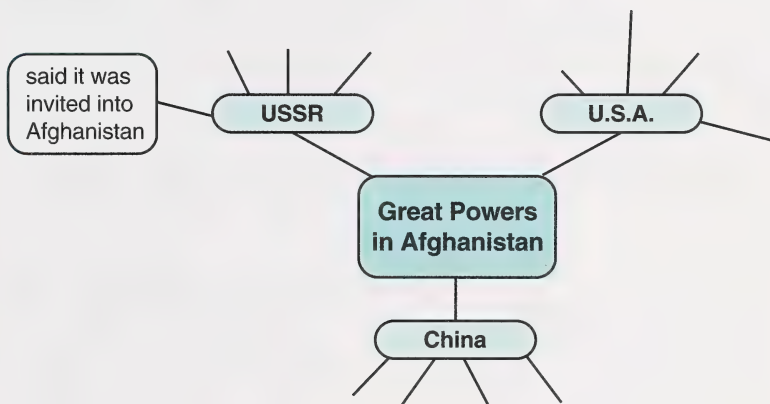
Table 2: Afghanistan: Great Power Interest and Involvement

 U.S.A.	<p>Ban on U.S. athletes taking part in 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow</p>	<p>U.S. grain shipments to USSR stopped</p> 	<p>President Carter sends 1800 marines to U.S. base in Arabian Sea area</p>	<p>U.S. offers support to Afghan rebels and Pakistan</p> 
 USSR	<p>Soviet statement: Soviet troops were invited into Afghanistan by government</p> 	<p>More troops flown in early in 1980</p> 	<p>USSR to give financial support to new Afghan government</p> 	<p>Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, warns U.S. to end its outside interference</p>
 CHINA	<p>Chinese criticism of Soviet action</p> 	<p>China states that it supports Afghan rebels against the USSR</p> 	<p>Chinese Foreign Minister flies to Islamabad in Pakistan and promises increased military support</p>	<p>China votes against USSR's action in the UN</p> 

16. Was Afghanistan within the Soviet's sphere of influence? Explain.

17. Why was Afghanistan important to the USSR?

18. Complete the following concept map on great-power interest and involvement in the Afghanistan crisis. Fill in actions taken by the superpowers. One has been done to get you started.



19. How was the concept of self-determination important to the crisis in Afghanistan?

Afghanistan

Jalalabad is bursting at the seams. About 1,600 refugees a day are arriving at this city in eastern Afghanistan, joining the 200,000 who have flooded into the area since January. That's when fighting flared up again in the country's on-again, off-again civil war.

The president of Afghanistan is Burhanuddin Rabbani. But, he's president in name only because Afghanistan, as a state, no longer exists. Opposing him is Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. In between, is Abdul Rashid Dostam an opportunist who recently switched sides, removing his support from the president. Mr. Dostam has changed sides before. He abandoned, and brought down, his

former master, the communist president Najibullah.

The fighting is over who controls the country. But, it is further complicated by ethnic and religious differences. Kabul, the capital, is in ruins, and more than 10,000 people have died since the violence flared up two years ago. Refugees have been streaming into neighbouring Iran and Pakistan as well as the overcrowded camps of Jalalabad.

The countryside around Jalalabad is littered with anti-personnel mines and unexploded bombs. These claim new victims every day as refugees, foraging for firewood and scrap metal, step on the hidden weapons.¹

20. What was the 1994 situation in Afghanistan?

21. Using media sources comment on the current situation in Afghanistan.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Afghanistan," April 1994, p. 3. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Activity 3: The American Sphere of Influence

Like the USSR in eastern Europe and Afghanistan, the U.S.A. worried about changes in government policies in Central American countries. The U.S.A. feared that these nations were moving towards communism, and the U.S. government would not allow part of its sphere of influence to be controlled by its rival superpower.

1. Study the readings that follow and complete the chart that comes after them. (Note that these readings are several years old, but they do give you some background information on what was happening in Central America at the time of the crisis in Afghanistan.)

Guatemala

Note: Jorge Elias presided over seven years of democratic rule until May 1993. The military deposed Elias in June 1993. Negotiations to end the long-standing leftist rebellion were held in January 1994. An assembly is to make recommendations to solve the country's problems.

POLITICS Ruled by military dictators since US-assisted coup overthrew the democratic government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. Most recent coup ousted General Efraín Ríos Montt, a born-again Christian considered too liberal by the country's oligarchy. Current leader is Brigadier Oscar Mejía Victores – a hard-line anticommunist.

THE WAR Scattered guerrilla forces have fought from mountain strongholds since late 1950s; peasant support and government repression have

accelerated since late 1970s. The army is the largest and most sophisticated in Central America, trained in counter-insurgency techniques by US advisers. Recent military aid will help General Mejía escalate the army's campaign against the guerrillas.

HUMAN RIGHTS More than 100 000 civilians have been killed by government forces in the last decade. Rule by law nonexistent. Church workers estimate up to 1 million internal refugees and 100 000 more in Mexico.

El Salvador

Note: On January 16, 1992, the government signed a peace treaty with guerrilla forces to end the 12-year civil war that claimed 75 000 lives. Calderón Fournier won the March 1994 presidential election, pledging to continue the peace process. The left-wing alliance won 21 seats in the Assembly so there is some feuding in the legislature.

POLITICS 1982 elections vaulted right-winger Major Roberto D'Aubuisson into power with Alvarado Magaña as figurehead president. The main opposition force, the *Democratic Revolutionary Front* (FDR), boycotted the elections because of death threats to its leadership by right-wing groups. Guerrilla forces have proposed direct negotiations with the US and Salvadoran governments to achieve a political solution. In 1984, José Duarte was elected President.

THE WAR Guerrilla forces were formed in the early 1970s. *Farabundo*

Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) is a tightly-organized fighting force of an estimated 10 000. Government troops are armed, trained and advised by the US, which has poured hundreds of millions of dollars of aid into the country since 1980.

HUMAN RIGHTS Atrocities, deaths and "disappearances" by right-wing death squads and army make El Salvador a human rights nightmare. Civilian killings continue at 400-500 a month. After years of delay, five government soldiers were imprisoned for the murders of four US nuns.

Note: Rafael Callejas became president in January 1990 in the first democratic transition to power since 1932. The Liberal Party candidate Carlos Reina won the November 1993 general election. He campaigned against governmental corruption and military influence.

Note: Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the Sandinista junta coordinator won 63% of votes for president and began a six-year term on January 10, 1985. In 1989 an accord established a one-year advance in general elections. Violetta Chormorro led a broad anti-Sandinista coalition to victory in the February 1990 elections. By 1993 relations between the president and the coalition that backed her had soured. The Assembly seldom met. In January 1994 rival factions came together in the Assembly.

Honduras

POLITICS President Roberto Suazo Cordova elected in 1981 after 18 years of military dictatorship. Real power is still vested in the army led by General Gustavo Alvarez, a hardline right-winger. Power behind the throne is US Ambassador, John Negroponte, who oversees the US military build-up.

THE WAR Main base of US action against the Sandinistas and Salvadoran guerrillas. Air strips, radar stations and new troop training facilities are being built. There are more than 300

US military advisers and technicians, 180 Green Berets, over 150 CIA agents and about 200 US soldiers in the country. Contras (anti-government forces) operate freely inside Honduras.

HUMAN RIGHTS Human rights are an invention to protect terrorists” says army leader General Alvarez. Violations by armed forces have increased since 1982, with outspoken government opponents targeted for murder.

Nicaragua

POLITICS The 1979 revolution led by *Frente Sandinista* (FSLN) replaced the Somoza family dictatorship. Power now rests in the hands of the nine-member National Directorate of the FSLN. Attempts to initiate local involvement through neighbourhood committees, co-operatives and trade unions have been made. Elections are scheduled for 1985.

THE WAR Prime target of US-backed war efforts in the region. Some 12-18 000 guerrillas, split into three main groups, extensively assisted by the CIA, attack from bases in Honduras and

Costa Rica. Most of the CIA aid, in the largest CIA operation since Vietnam, goes to former Somoza national guardsmen. Fighting has not undermined popular support for the Sandinistas.

HUMAN RIGHTS Sandinistas have admitted “errors” in their early dealings with the Miskito Indians but stand by their right to relocate 8000 Indians from the border war zone. Political parties permitted; few cases of torture, “disappearances” or political murder; press censorship is still in operation.¹

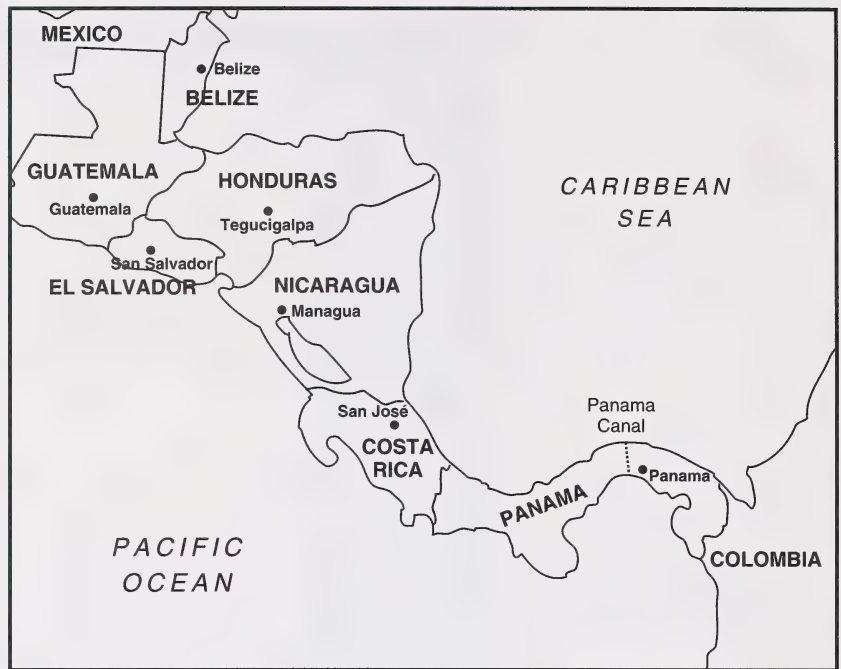
¹ New Internationalist for the excerpt from the *New Internationalist*, December 1983. Reprinted by permission of the New Internationalist.

Central America

Country	Politics	The War	Human Rights
Guatemala			
El Salvador			
Honduras			
Nicaragua			

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 3.

Central America



Common Characteristics

Most of the conflicts in Central America had similar characteristics. Obviously each country experienced events unique to their situation; however, there were some common threads, found through all of Central America.

- In cases of **civil war**, the political left was often supported by the USSR and the political right was often supported by the U.S.A.
- Most often the conflicts were economic in nature.
 - There could be an uneven distribution of wealth.
 - There was often almost no middle class.
 - The very wealthy usually owned most of the land. The large majority of people owned tiny plots or no land at all.
 - The majority of people lived in continual poverty.
 - There was often substandard housing.

Civil war: a war waged by people of the same state on opposing sides

- There was often a shortage of clean drinking water.
- There was often malnutrition.
- There was often a high infant-mortality rate and a short life expectancy.
- The average income had often dropped considerably.
- There was as much as a 50% drop in standard of living, which was already one of the lowest in the world.
- Poor economic conditions bred revolution. Popular movements were fighting for a better quality of life and freedom.
- Central America was the “backyard” of the U.S.A. It was within the American sphere of influence.
 - American policy was to protect the status quo.
 - More than a half a dozen times the U.S. had given military support to right-wing, pro-American governments.
 - The Reagan administration took an aggressive policy in Central America.
 - It openly encouraged and supported regimes loyal to the U.S.
 - It supported the existing right-wing governments.
 - It claimed that local revolutionaries were a “virus imported from eastern Europe.”
 - It supported the right-wing Contras in Nicaragua, whom Reagan called “freedom fighters,” against the Marxist Sandinista government.
 - In 1984 the media revealed that the U.S. government had aided the Contras against the wishes of the U.S. Congress.
- To maintain the balance of power, the USSR had become involved.
 - Nicaragua’s communist Sandinista government was an ally of the USSR.
 - The chances of conflict increased when both superpowers were involved.

Canada’s Involvement in Central America

Canada did not directly supply arms and military assistance to any group fighting in Central America.

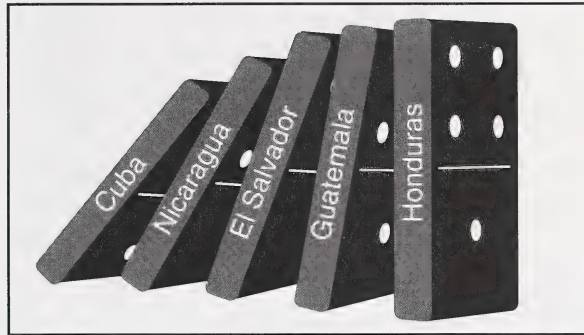
The Canadian government concentrated on helping the ones affected most by the wars – the ordinary people.

- Canadian aid to Central America tripled to \$106 million during the late 1980s. This was second only to the Caribbean in per capita contribution.
- Nongovernmental groups with federal funding worked with the people on such programs as repairing machinery, building houses, and developing water purification systems. Albertans have played an important part in such programs.
- Using our experience in peacekeeping and our positive reputation in Central America, Canada offered to design a peacekeeping plan.

Now do the exercise that follows.

2. Describe four common characteristics of the conflicts in Central America.

3. List three ways in which Canada became involved in the Central American conflict.

The Domino Theory: America's View of the Crisis in Central America

4. According to the domino theory, which Central American countries did the U.S. fear would fall “like dominoes” to the communists?

5. In more detail, explain the meaning of the domino theory, using the terms *sphere of influence* and *containment* in your explanation.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 3.

The Caribbean – Grenada

Since Cuba became communist, the U.S. government has worked to contain communism within existing Caribbean countries, which are within the American sphere of influence. When the Reagan administration believed that Grenada was soon to join the communist bloc, he sent in American armed forces to “restore democracy.”

Grenada is a small country in the Caribbean that was gradually moving to the left. The government of Grenada was receiving aid from communist countries, primarily Cuba. President Reagan was particularly upset about a Cuban-sponsored project to build an airstrip.

The American government was unhappy with the situation in Grenada. Reagan’s administration believed that the communist presence in the Caribbean upset the balance of power in the region and threatened the American sphere of influence. Why did Reagan invade Grenada? He may have believed that the communists were planning a coup. Opponents of Reagan’s policy claim that he used Grenada as an excuse to build his own image as a tough, militant anticommunist. Grenada would provide Reagan with an easy military victory.



The Caribbean



6. Where is Grenada?

7. Why did American troops invade Grenada?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 3.

Clearly, then, the U.S. regards the Caribbean and Central America as being within its sphere of influence and will intervene to protect the status quo.

Activity 4: The Superpowers and the Arab-Israeli Crisis

Both superpowers realized the enormous importance of the Middle East to the entire world. As in the regional proxy wars in Southeast Asia and Central America, the U.S.A. and the USSR had, in the past, squared off on opposite sides in the Middle East to further their own interests, protect their allies, and preserve the balance of power.

Background

As you will recall from the previous module, the Israelis and Arabs have been fighting primarily over territory. Before 1948 most of Israel was known as Palestine, occupied by Arab Palestinians, Jews, and Christians. But after World War II, a mass exodus of Jews from Europe flooded Palestine.

By 1948 the Jewish nation of Israel was created. This immediately caused a war between Israel and the Arab nations of the Middle East.

A large group of Arab people lived in Palestine before the establishment of Israel. Many of these

Palestinians have become refugees from their homeland. The Palestinians no longer have a national homeland. One million live in Israel and another million live elsewhere. Since 1967, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) has become the leader of the Palestinian people. Yasir Arafat, the leader, wants to replace Israel with a state in which Israelis and Palestinians are recognized as equals.

The Middle East, 1983–1984



Terrorism: *unlawful acts of violence committed in an attempt to overthrow a government or to promote a cause*

The PLO has used **terrorism** to achieve two principal goals:

- to call world attention to their plight
- to attack Israel and its allies

One of the most famous terrorist attacks came during the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. The Palestinian guerrilla movement called “Black September” took eleven Israeli athletes hostage, killed several, and made a number of demands on the Israeli government. Israel said it would not negotiate with the PLO.

As you will recall, in 1956 war broke out between Israel and the Arab world, this time over the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, a vital transportation route. Israel attacked Egypt with the help of Britain and France. A UN peacekeeping force was sent in. The Suez Canal was reopened.

Israel would be involved in confrontations with the Arab world three more times.

The Six Day War, 1967

By the 1960s Egypt was receiving a great amount of military aid from the USSR while Israel was heavily supported by the U.S.A. In 1967, Egyptian President Nasser, hoping to regain territory and reestablish prestige lost in the Suez Crisis, demanded that the UN withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula. When this was done, Nasser moved in Egyptian troops close to the Israeli army. Syria was afraid that Israel was going to attack it.



Tension grew until Israel, believing that it must attack first, attacked Egypt. Within a few days the Egyptian army had fallen, followed by the fall of Jordan’s and Syria’s armies. Israel took the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. Egypt had been humiliated, and Israel had established itself as the chief military presence in the Middle East.

The Yom Kippur War, 1973

On October 6, 1973, Arab forces equipped with Soviet weapons attacked from Egypt and Syria, hoping to catch Israel by surprise on the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur and regain lost Arab territory. With American aid, Israel counterattacked, taking more land from Syria and crossing the Suez Canal into Egypt.

The UN arranged a cease-fire by October 24, and a peacekeeping force was again sent. Egypt and Syria withdrew.

Lebanon, 1982

By 1982, the PLO had dealt Israel some devastating blows. They had assassinated a number of Israelis abroad and were using bases in Lebanon to shell northern Israeli settlements. In June of 1982 an important Israeli official was shot by the PLO in London. Israel decided to attack PLO bases in Lebanon and destroy its strength. Israel had three goals:

- to destroy the terrorist threat from the PLO in Lebanon
- to set up a stable government in Lebanon
- to establish a forty-kilometre-wide buffer zone policed by an international peacekeeping force

Public opinion among Israel's allies, and within the country itself, was divided over the occupation of Lebanon. In 1985, Israel moved out of Lebanon, but inner turmoil in and out of Beirut continued to block peace efforts.

1. Using the information you have just read, complete the chart that follows.

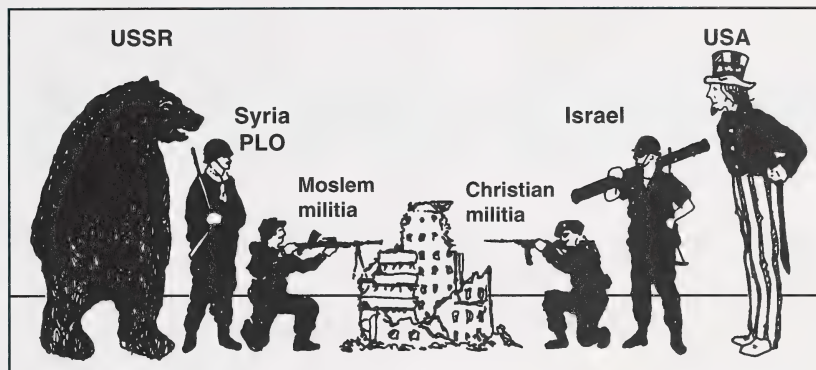
Conflict	Israeli Reasons for Fighting	Arab Reasons for Fighting
Six Day War, 1967	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
Yom Kippur War, 1973	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
Lebanon, 1982	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 4.

Superpower Involvement in the Arab-Israeli Crises

At times the superpowers had worked very hard to restore order and keep the peace in the Middle East. However, by supporting opposite sides in the conflict, the U.S.A. and USSR had also fanned the flames of war.

Cartoon A: The Superpowers in Lebanon



Cartoon B: The Superpowers Lend a Hand



One comment on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The two are kept fighting by transfusions of arms from Nixon, representing the United States, and Brezhnev, representing the Soviet Union. (Les Gibbard)

¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the cartoon. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.

² Ibid.

Study Cartoons A and B and answer the following questions.

Cartoon A:

2. In order, starting with the most powerful, list the countries and groups on each side of the conflict in Lebanon.

3. What conclusion can you draw from the cartoon about international involvement in Lebanon?

Cartoon B:

4. What two countries do the men holding the bottles represent?

5. What two countries or groups are represented by the men attacking one another?

6. What is this cartoon saying about superpower involvement in the Arab-Israeli Crisis?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 4.

The West has tended to be sympathetic to the cause of Israel. Israel received negative publicity about the management of the PLO Intifadah, or uprising, in 1987 and the Temple Mount deaths in Jerusalem which left some people in the West more critical of Israel. Internally, and externally, Israel is having more trouble dealing with the Palestinian question.

In general then, the Arab-Israeli conflict has been

- a conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians over a homeland
- a conflict between Israel and the Arab world over cultural, religious, political, and territorial differences
- an indirect confrontation between the superpowers

In 1973 the Arab world led the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** in a successful attempt at controlling the world’s oil supply, and in turn, price. The resulting energy crisis made the world, and especially the superpowers, more sensitive to the importance of petroleum and energy.

The Middle East, therefore, became even more important to the superpowers.

Peace Plans

The road to peace in the Middle East has been an extremely complex, and often frustrating, one. Peace plans and interventions by the UN, as well as numerous foreign government officials, have merely postponed much of the violence. This does not mean that peace between Israel and the Arab world is unattainable; but the struggle is a complex one.

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC): an international cartel that has considerable influence in determining supply, demand, and price of oil

Cartel: an agreement concerning pricing and production among major producing countries of a particular commodity

The Camp David Accords of 1979 saw Israel and Egypt agree to a peace treaty that provided for the return of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt in 1982, but all other occupied areas remained under Israeli rule. The 1987 Intifadah, or Palestinian uprising, increased the international community's support for the development of a Palestinian homeland. In November 1988 the PLO declared Palestinian independence from Israel. The Gulf War (which will be discussed in the next activity) led to a loss of support for the Palestinians as many Palestinians sided with Iraq. After the Gulf War the United States began to call for negotiations between the Israelis and Arabs as part of an intensified effort to achieve regional peace and stability.

In late 1991, Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon met to discuss their grievances. At these talks the Palestinians gained a new image as poised and articulate negotiators. The issue that separated Israel from its Arab neighbors was the Israeli settlement of occupied areas. Israel was consistently carrying out a policy of establishing a large Jewish population in the territories making any attempt to return the land to the original Arab owners difficult, if not impossible.

The election of a more moderate Israeli government in 1992 helped the peace process as the new government agreed to allow direct negotiations with the PLO as well as to stop new settlement in the occupied areas. In late 1992 Israel deported over 400 Palestinians suspected of terrorism and the peace process began to break down. Norway secretly brokered talks between Israel and the PLO leading to an agreement in September 1993. This agreement involves a complex series of steps including the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Jericho and Gaza's Palestinian towns. Palestinians in these areas have been given responsibility for internal matters such as taxation, education, health, and security. Joint committees representing the two sides have been set up to monitor security and civilian matters affecting the larger region of the autonomous areas. The contentious Israeli settlements in the regions remain until decided by further negotiation. The Palestinians are not able to issue their own currency.

In May 1994, PLO leader Yasser Arafat signed the agreement with Israel giving Palestinians limited autonomy in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. There has been much criticism that this accord for self-rule still allows too much Israeli control over Palestinians' lives. Arafat returned to the Gaza Strip in July 1994, ending 27 years of exile. He now faces making the transition from leader of a rebellion to that of leader of an emerging nation. Poverty and unemployment are rampant in the crowded Palestinian territories and many hostile Jewish settlers remain. These agreements have made it possible for the Israelis to begin negotiations with other Arab states such as Jordan.

Activity 5: Global Interaction – The Gulf War

The Iran-Iraq War

Before discussing the Gulf War, some background on the Iran-Iraq war is needed. There has long been animosity between Iran and Iraq. Most Iranians are Shiite Muslims and are Persians, not Arabs. The Iraqis are mainly Sunni Muslims, and the majority are Arabs. The general difference between the two groups of Muslims is that the Shiites tend to be more fundamentalist or closer to a literal interpretation of Islamic law than the Sunnis. The groups originally divided over the issue of whether the Islamic priesthood should be an elective or hereditary office; with time a number of theological differences developed.

In 1975 a treaty was signed that gave Iran access to the eastern part of the Shatt al-Arab River. This access was a vital route for moving oil out of inland Iraq and Iran to the Persian Gulf. President Hussein of Iraq opposed Iran having access to this waterway. This created political conflict between the two countries and in 1980 Iraq's army seized control of the Shatt and invaded southwestern Iran. Iraq's president Saddam Hussein hoped for a decisive victory that would end Ayatollah Khomeini's rule of Iran. Khomeini, a radical Shiite Muslim, had come to power in Iran in 1979 and had called for a Holy War against the United States, Israel, and several Arab leaders such as Saddam Hussein. This conflict continued in what became an eight-year war. This war resulted in the deaths of over one million people from the two countries and also severely hurt the economies of both countries.



In 1988 an agreement was reached by these two countries to return to their postwar positions. The United Nations was called upon to come into the area and monitor the truce. The following factors from this war are important to what happened later in the Gulf War:

- During the Iran-Iraq War the United States carried out its largest naval buildup since World War II.

- Iran seemed to have suffered the most serious devastation from this war with Iraq emerging as the dominant military power in the Persian Gulf. Saddam Hussein launched a program to develop nuclear weapons and hoped to make Iraq the first nuclear power among Islamic nations.
- Iraq owed much money to rich Gulf country creditors as well as billions of dollars to Western Europe for arms.
- The return to postwar positions left Iraq without access to the Persian Gulf as the Shatt waterway was blocked to Iraq's ships by the Iranians.

The Gulf War

In July 1990, Saddam Hussein of Iraq showed his power by charging Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates with exceeding the oil production quotas set by OPEC. In an attempt to intimidate Kuwait into paying Iraq an indemnity to compensate for the lower oil prices caused by over-production, he amassed his troops on Kuwait's border. Then on August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait.

The war that started over the invasion of Kuwait had economic, territorial, and political causes. Iraq was in debt some \$80 billion as a result of its eight-year war with Iran. About half this debt was owed to Western countries who wanted to be paid in currency. The other half was owned to neighboring Gulf countries and Hussein hoped to not have to repay them. On top of this debt, Hussein persuaded his creditors to lend him more money. Iraq was spending about 40% of its export earnings on military and projects that were designed to increase Iraq's regional power. There were no jobs designed to assist with the demobilization of soldiers returned from the Iran-Iraq war. Inflation was very high at this time and goods became scarce because nearly 80% of Iraq's food and consumer goods were being imported. Iraq had been hoping to sell more oil to make up for this but then the oil price dropped from \$20 to \$14 a barrel. A cash crisis in Iraq developed; unable to repay any of its debt Iraq was seen as no longer being credit worthy.

The Rumailah oil fields extend from Iraq into Kuwait. Saddam Hussein accused Kuwait of illegal sales of oil from this field during the Iran-Iraq war and demanded a \$2 billion payment from Kuwait as well as Iraq gaining ownership of the entire oil field. This would help solve some of his country's financial problems.

The boundary problems over the Rumailah oil fields were also part of a territorial dispute that would help Iraq gain access to the Persian Gulf. By taking over the Kuwait island of Bubiyan, Iraq would obtain a port on the Persian Gulf shoreline.

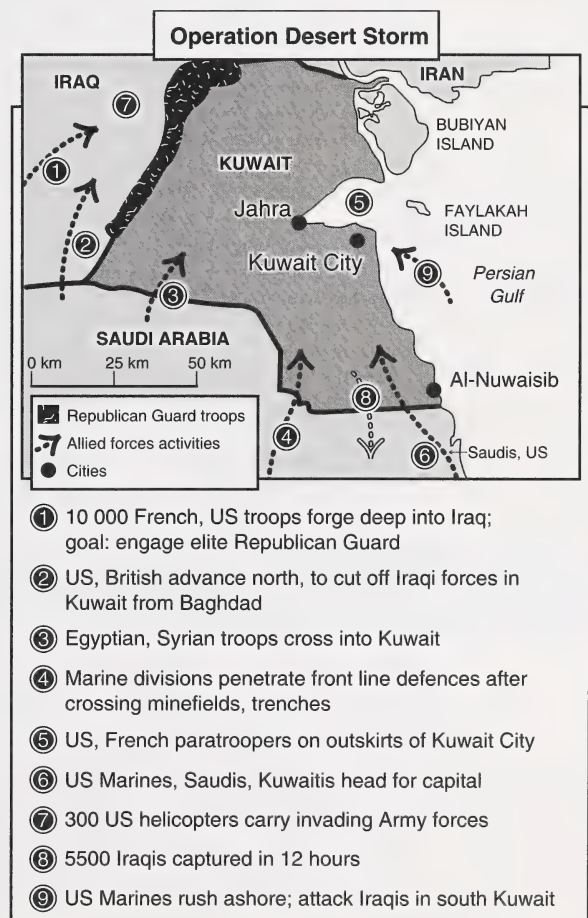
Saddam Hussein also had political motives; he intended to establish himself as the leader of the Arab world. He wanted Palestinian refugees to look to him as their saviour and encouraged a liaison with the PLO. In diplomatic negotiations with the Americans he insisted that the Gulf crisis could not be settled unless Israel and the United States were willing to resolve the Palestinian issue.

These were the major reasons for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and its declaration on August 28, 1990, that Kuwait would be its nineteenth province. This was done despite international pressure on Iraq by the United Nations in terms of economic sanctions and warships stationed in the Persian Gulf.

Diplomatic talks with Iraq during September and October failed to get Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. The United States therefore assembled coalition forces from a number of countries and on November 25, 1990, the United Nations Security Council approved all necessary means (which included the use of force) to secure the freedom of Kuwait. This was the first time since the Korean War in 1950 that the Security Council had approved an action of collective security against an aggressor state. Iraq was given until January 15, 1991, to withdraw its troops from Kuwait. Hussein did release foreign hostages, but in the end he refused to relinquish control of Kuwait.

Nineteen hours after the January 15 deadline expired, the Gulf War began. The United States sent the largest number of troops and equipment and was the dominant force in the coalition of United Nations forces that came from nations including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Kuwait. These coalition forces launched a massive aerial assault on Iraq. Iraq launched Scud missile attacks on Israel and Saudi Arabia in an attempt to draw Israel into the conflict, but this plan did not succeed. Unopposed by the Iraqi airforce, coalition planes devastated Iraq's military and communications infrastructure and severely limited Iraq's

ability to fight on the ground. When coalition ground forces began their attack on Iraqi positions in Kuwait, they met with little resistance.



In three days the fight was over and Iraq’s government was forced to accept the United Nations’s recommendations. Iraq, in defeat, was left with bitter internal feuding as Shia forces in the southern part of the country and Kurdish groups in the northern part began to challenge the government’s authority. President Hussein, however, crushed opposition to his leadership and remained in power.

The United States provided the leadership and the military capability that made for the success of the coalition forces. This, however, would not have been possible without American-Soviet cooperation, the United Nations, and the willingness of other nations. The end of the Cold War and improved American-Soviet relations helped the United States to proceed. Because the Soviets did not veto the UN resolution, the coalition was given UN legitimacy and this helped President Bush gain the approval of the U.S. Senate. The unification of Germany and the signing in November 1990 of a treaty to reduce conventional forces in Europe gave President Bush ready access to trained forces that were in Europe and could be sent to the Gulf region. Nearly half of the American troops sent to the Gulf region came from the European front and they were joined by British and French contingents that had also been part of the NATO forces with years of training. With this military force readily available, President Bush was able to push ahead with operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm – the military campaigns that were used to liberate Kuwait.

The Gulf War was especially hard on the environment. During the conflict Saddam Hussein had the Kuwait Sea Island oil terminal sabotaged and as much as one billion litres of crude oil spilled into the Persian Gulf. This threatened the water supply of neighbouring Gulf states as well as posing a deadly threat to plant and animal life in the region. The inability to start clean up operations until after the war ended added to the environmental impact of the spill. When Iraqi soldiers fled from Kuwait hundreds of oil wells were set on fire. The oil wells burned out of control darkening the skies and filling the air with poisonous gases. The fight to extinguish these oil well fires lasted long after the battle for Kuwait was over.

1. What reasons did Iraq have for wanting to take control over Kuwait?
-
-
-
-
-
-

2. What role did the United Nations have in the action that was taken to free Kuwait from Iraqi control?

3. What environmental consequences resulted from the Gulf War?

4. What potential problems may arise from the outcome of the Gulf War crisis?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 5.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

This section has been structured around a number of key concepts; it is important that you understand these concepts fully.

You have seen these concepts illustrated in a number of international situations – the war in Vietnam, the situations in Czechoslovakia and Poland, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, American intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, the Middle East Crisis, and the Gulf War.

The chart that follows is designed to help you review and improve your understanding of the material in Section 2.

Complete the chart, defining the key concepts of this section and giving for each at least two examples of conflicts that illustrate that concept, along with a justification for each.

Concept	Definition	Conflict	Justification
Sphere of Influence			
Balance of Power			
Expansionism			
Containment			
Self-determination			

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Extra Help.

Enrichment

As you read in the article at the end of Activity 2, the conflict in Afghanistan did not end with the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It continued in 1994 to be a very unstable situation. In Activity 3 you read about American involvement in four Central American countries – Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. The articles that you read were from the early 1980s when the Cold War was still on. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in late 1991, the risk of conflict between the two superpowers was reduced. Do some research and check current media sources to update the present situations that exist in each of the four Central American countries that were discussed in Activity 3. Use your own paper to write a paragraph about the current political and economic situations for each of the four countries – Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Enrichment.

Conclusion

From your study of conflict in eastern Europe, Central America, and the Middle East, you can draw the following general conclusions. For each of these generalizations, try to think of at least one country in conflict that you studied in Section 3 that illustrates it.

- A shift in the balance of power results in changed relationships among nations.
- Decolonization and the emergence of new nations have influenced the foreign policies of the superpowers.
- The superpowers have faced pressures of self-determination within their spheres of influence.

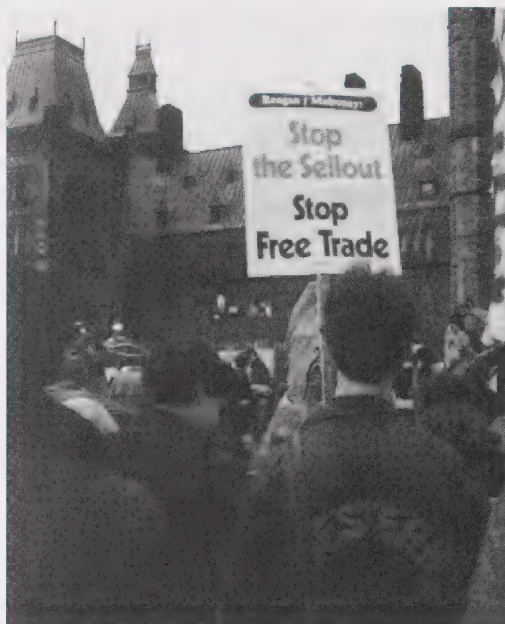
The material in this section concerned events that occurred during the Cold War. The situation has changed with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the concepts and principles hold true, and the grounding you receive here will help you to understand more recent events.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the assignment for this section.

Economic Development and Global Interactions



If you examine various items around your home, you will see that many are made in other countries. Clothing, cars, television sets, computers, and other consumer goods are imported from the United States, Europe, Pacific Rim countries, or other places in the world. If you have ever ordered something from another country by mail, you may have had to pay a tax on it before it was allowed through customs. If you have ever travelled outside Canada, you will have had to declare what goods you bought when going through customs as you re-entered Canada. There is a tax free limit after which you must pay duty on the goods you purchased. Imported goods in stores already have this duty or tax added into the price. The government collects taxes or duties on goods brought into Canada to try to protect local industries from foreign competition. You may have been encouraged to buy goods made in Canada in order to protect the jobs of Canadian workers.

Recently attempts have been made to reduce the trade barriers between countries by eliminating these import taxes. It is hoped that such moves will promote global economic cooperation. While some people support such moves, others are very opposed to them. How do you feel about free trade?

In this section you will look at regional and global attempts at economic cooperation. Through the study of various regional and international organizations, you should come to understand the following:

- the concept of economic cooperation
- the way in which cartels can create both economic cooperation and conflict
- the role of the multinational corporation in creating economic cooperation and economic conflict
- the positive and negative consequences of protectionism and free trade

Activity 1: From Protectionism to Economic Cooperation

Throughout Western history nations have competed for economic trade in the world but have also found it necessary to trade with each other. All industrial European nations such as Britain and France wanted to gain advantage over their competitor countries and prevent other nations from doing the same. To protect their national economies, these countries often used **tariffs**. Such **protectionism** often forced other nations to retaliate with tariffs of their own.

Yet few countries, if any, can be totally self-sufficient. International trade, therefore, is necessary for two reasons:

- The country cannot grow certain foods (e.g., bananas) or produce certain raw materials (e.g., copper for plumbing).
- The country has not developed the skills to produce certain goods, and it is cheaper to import the goods than to compete.

Protectionism, then, broke down economic cooperation. The practice of a national government to impose tariffs either to gain advantage or retaliate against other protectionist governments became common. The chain reaction of tariffs and duties spread throughout the world. Trade wars often ensued.

Here are two main reasons for which governments restrict imports through protectionist policies:

- to protect a debtor country (It cannot afford to buy more imports.)
- to protect domestic industries from outside competition (This should encourage consumers to buy goods made in their own country.)

Tariff: tax on imported goods

Protectionism: a government policy designed to shelter locally produced goods from less expensive imports with the goal of preserving jobs in the country

These actions can produce understandable problems.

Protectionism is dangerous for two reasons:

- It reduces the total volume of world trade; this can lead to increased unemployment.
- Quarrels over problems of trade can lead to war.



In this century economic affairs have changed drastically.

At the turn of the century, much of world trade revolved around imperialist countries like Britain, Germany, France, and the U.S.A. But by the end of World War II, colonial empires were crumbling.

The once-great European powers were rapidly losing stature and clout, having absorbed the losses of both world wars. North America, however, entered into an unprecedented boom following World War II, and continued to enjoy prosperous times through the 1960s. Almost all nations agreed that international cooperative efforts to avoid any future world conflicts were imperative.

Since 1945, then, many projects have been launched to promote economic cooperation on a global and regional scale. One of the first of these was the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), an organization comprising eighteen European countries. It was formed in 1948 to administer the funds of the Marshall plan, the American postwar European aid plan. The OEEC is the predecessor of the modern EEC.

*EEC (European Economic Community): an international organization of nations that have cooperated to reduce and eliminate tariffs against member states and impose restrictive measures against nonmembers
It is also known as the "Common Market."*

1. Using the term *tariff* in your discussion, describe how the practice of protectionism can spread throughout the world.

2. What is a trade war?

3. Why do some governments resort to protectionist economic policies?

4. How does protectionism break down economic cooperation?

5. What historical conditions in the twentieth century created an environment for greater economic cooperation?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 1.

Activity 2: International Economic Cooperation – The UN

The need for economic cooperation was evident after World War II. As you learned in Module 6, one of the aims of the United Nations was to build the underdeveloped economies of the world. Understandably, the UN wanted to achieve this goal through cooperation.

A great array of organizations work through the UN's Economic and Social Council to promote international economic cooperation. Since one of the greatest causes of conflict is poverty and resultant human misery, economic cooperation can prevent violence at every level.

Five major kinds of economic work in the UN Economic and Social Council are as follows

- service that promotes efficiency, e.g., the Universal Postal Union or the International Civil Aviation Organization
- conferences on world problems, e.g., the World Food Conference in Rome, 1974
- help for those in distress, e.g., High Commissioner of Refugees, Disaster Relief Coordinator
- improvement of trade and prosperity, e.g., the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)**, the **International Monetary Fund**, the **World Bank**,
- Technical assistance, e.g., the **World Health Organization (WHO)**, the **Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)**
- Educational, cultural, and scientific work, e.g., the **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)**.

***GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade):** an international UN organization that works to reduce tariffs*

***IMF (International Monetary Fund):** a UN agency established in 1945 to assist countries in meeting imbalances of payments in order to facilitate greater trade*

***World Bank:** an international bank for reconstruction and development; a UN agency established in 1945 to provide loans to UN member-states for economic development*

***WHO (World Health Organization):** the specialized agency of the UN which deals with world health*

***FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):** the specialized agency of the UN that deals with world problems of food supplies and improvement in farming throughout the world*

Case Studies

IMF – International Monetary Fund

Function	Method
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IMF provides needy countries with development loans. • IMF stabilizes international exchange of goods by keeping international currencies stable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IMF members contribute to the fund to help needy members to pay loans on which they default. • IMF makes sure that member nations' currencies remain stable against powerful currencies like the U.S. dollar.



World Bank




Function	Method
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Bank helps poor countries to acquire capital needed for development projects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Bank provides loans at a rate of interest lower than the prevailing rate.

Although these two agencies help Third World nations to develop their economies, these countries must still borrow from other sources. Combined with loans from the IMF, other outstanding international debts can be crushing to these needy nations' economies.

Use the chart that follows to complete the exercise that comes after it.

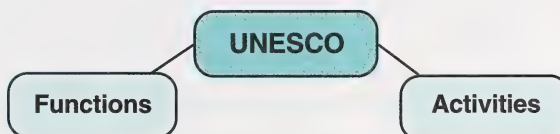
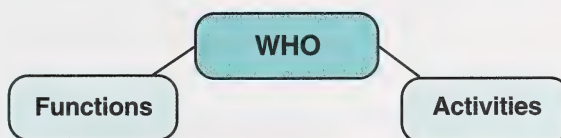
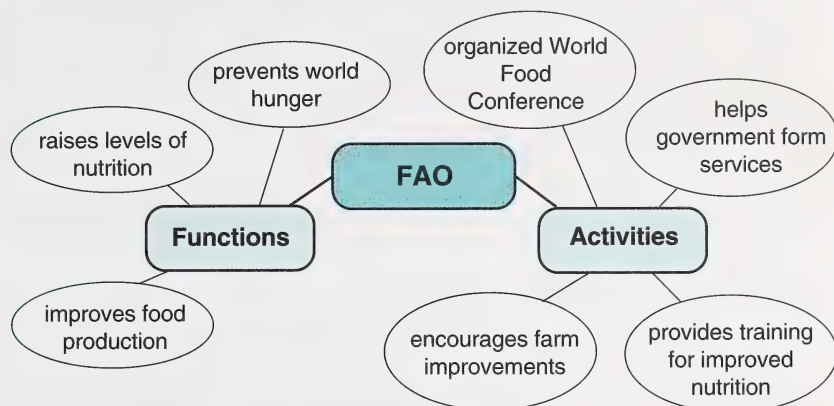
The Work of UN Agencies: A Summary

Name of the agency	Main function	Activities
Food and Agriculture 	To raise levels of nutrition throughout the world and prevent world hunger by improving the efficiency of the production and supply of food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • organized the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974 to get international agreement on world food problems • helps to establish government agricultural services in the developing countries to bring modern agricultural programmes and scientific discoveries to the attention of farmers; encourages developments in irrigation, fertilizers, high-yield crops, pesticides, livestock farming and animal diseases, fisheries, and forestry work • helps governments train people to devise programmes to improve nutrition in their countries
World Health Organization (WHO) 	To help promote the highest possible level of health throughout the world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • helps governments build up their own health services and provides them with technical assistance and aid • carries out research and collects information on problems of world health • co-ordinates and initiates campaigns aimed at wiping out major diseases in the world, e.g., tuberculosis, trachoma, leprosy, cholera <p>Malaria has been virtually cleared out in the Americas, North Africa, parts of Asia and the Western Pacific; has been greatly reduced in India and Pakistan; and is still serious in Africa south of the Sahara.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • makes efforts to overcome the world-wide shortage of doctors, nurses, and health workers <p>Because of the cost of health services, it has encouraged developing countries to develop 'primary health care,' i.e., workers who are not doctors but can deal with simple illness and emergencies.</p>

<p>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)</p> 	<p>To promote the progress of education throughout the world and to develop science and the arts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • works in the fields of education, science, social science, culture, and communication • encourages international co-operation to establish compulsory primary education throughout most of the developing world • encourages international co-operation in science • encourages international co-operation to safeguard the world's store of books and works of art <p>It works to save monuments; its most spectacular campaign was to save the ancient Egyptian monuments of Nubia from submersion by the Nile upon the completion of the Aswan Dam.</p>
<p>United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)</p> 	<p>To help children who are in need, especially the poorest children in the poorest areas of the world</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps governments to set up projects in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – mother and child health, e.g., safe delivery of babies – mass disease-control campaigns – works alongside WHO – nutrition – family and child welfare services and organizes emergency relief for children during disasters
<p>International Labour Organization (ILO)</p> 	<p>To improve working conditions throughout the world.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set up an international Labour Code on many aspects of working conditions such as <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – employment/unemployment – conditions of work – employment of children, young persons, and women – industrial health, safety, and welfare – industrial relations – migrant workers <p>These act as guidelines for the member-countries.</p>

United Nations

- Using the preceding chart, complete a summary concept map for WHO and UNESCO. A map for FAO has been done for you as an example.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

As you learned in Activity 1, tariffs have been a barrier to economic cooperation. Many countries have come to believe that economic prosperity is more easily achieved when there is a free exchange of goods among the world's nations. Removing trade barriers should do the following:

- expand markets for producers, bringing them more profits
- make for increased competition among producers, which will provide more lower-priced goods for consumers

A UN agency, GATT (the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade), strives to enhance economic cooperation by establishing the lowest possible standard of tariffs.

GATT members meet on a regular basis to review the condition of world trade and make arrangements for freer trade. It is important to note that together, the three giants in GATT – the European Economic Community, the U.S., and Japan – represent one-half of all world trade. They all have economic differences, but GATT attempts to minimize these differences, promote economic cooperation, and give smaller nations a chance.

GATT Agrees

Talks aimed at freer world trade reached a landmark agreement in Geneva, Switzerland. We look at the effects of the new rules on Canada

Nations which trade with each other are less apt to quarrel. This, and the idea that peace has a better chance in a prosperous world, led 23 countries, including Canada, to found the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947. Since then, there have been seven rounds of GATT talks, each of them more ambitious, and the number of member nations or observers has grown to 117. The GATT negotiators can boast that average tariffs in industrialized countries have fallen from more than 40% in 1947 to less than 5% today. At the same time, the value of goods exported has skyrocketed from a mere \$50 billion (U.S.) to \$3.7 trillion.

The latest, or Uruguay Round, has sputtered along since 1986, threatening more than once to break down altogether. Disputes between France and the U.S. over grain subsidies and differences over

the complex and growing trade in services such as banking, consulting, and “intellectual property” (films, books, etc.) slowed agreement but have usually been solved by compromise.

Canada, on the whole, has done well. The most controversial issue has been our marketing boards for eggs, poultry, and dairy products which set production quotas and almost totally ban imports. The result has been artificially high prices here for such staples as milk and butter. Canada was alone in defending this policy at the GATT and had to agree to end the system.

In doing so, however, it won an equal amount of protection for the dairy farmers of Quebec and Ontario, replacing quotas with sky-high tariffs of up to 351%. Under the GATT, these would be reduced by 15% by 2000 and completely wiped out by 2010.

**WORLD EXPORT
SHARES – 1989**

Asia.....	23.5%
North America.....	15.5%
Western Europe.....	43.5%
Central & Eastern Europe.....	7.0%
Latin America.....	4.5%
Middle East.....	3.5%
Africa.....	2.5%

The GATT rules, however, clash with those of our Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the U.S. and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), both of which call for all tariffs to end by 1998. The U.S. says it will use the FTA and NAFTA to challenge the GATT rules and, if it wins, dairy farmers would have to face mass production competition from south of the border much sooner.

There is a flip side to all this. While our dairy farmers now benefit from prices

as high as four times the world average, consumers, restaurants, and other food services must pay these inflated prices for milk, eggs, and butter. Far from everyone favours such total protection.

Canada’s grain farmers should eventually do better because new GATT rules will lower the volume of subsidized exports by 21% over six years. Tariffs will come down on such key Canadian exports as pulp and paper and wood products. A world trade body with much sharper teeth for settling disputes is an important bonus for Canada, a trading nation.

Officials here estimate the deal will give us access to another \$125 billion (U.S.) in trade, and further negotiations could add another \$175 billion to this total. The agreement, still to be ratified (confirmed) by most member nations, is expected to be signed in April and to go into effect on 1 July 1995.¹

2. What are two beneficial effects of removing trade barriers?

3. How does GATT promote better economic cooperation?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, “GATT Agrees,” by Charles A. White, February 1994, p. 7. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Group of Seven Industrialized Nations

The widespread use of trade restrictions and competitive currency devaluations that were used extensively during the 1930s resulted in a prolonged world recession and a shrinkage in world trade. In 1944 a system of fixed exchanged rates was established along with some international rules of behaviour to help prevent a repeat of the 1930s situation. This system remained in place for over twenty-five years and then broke down as countries became dissatisfied with the discipline that fixed rates imposed on their domestic monetary policies. To provide the autonomy to pursue independent economic policies, flexible exchange rates were adopted in 1975. However, national economies are still extremely sensitive to external disturbances.

In 1975 economic diplomats from five of the world's leading industrial economies met to try to work out plans for some sort of international economic coordination. The members of the G5 were the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, and Britain. In 1987 Italy overtook Britain for fifth place according to the economic indicators being used. To avoid dropping Britain from this group, the G5 was formed into the G7. Italy and Canada were added to the original five countries. The G7 represents the seven largest economies and supply approximately two-thirds of the world's economic output.

Participants of these seven countries meet annually at what are known as economic summits. The first four summits having been held after the collapse of the international monetary system dealt with flexible exchange rates, the first oil embargo, rising inflation, and a world recession. These summits, therefore, were concerned with recovery. Summits after 1979 focused on ways to counteract inflation. The United States was urging the use of Keynesian demand management. West Germany favoured a neo-classical path of monetary stability. From 1979 the German view dominated. This was accompanied by a rejection of economic nationalism in the form of protectionism and economic regulation. Summits that followed endorsed a move away from government intervention towards a freer operation of the market.

There are several unique characteristics of the summit meetings:

- They are one of the smallest official gatherings of international policy makers.
- The meetings are rather unrestricted in structure and subject matter.
- The participants are not required to produce detailed formal public reports that many other groups such as the International Monetary Fund must produce.
- The participants, being heads of state or otherwise active at the highest levels of government, have the power and the flexibility to quickly respond to economic disturbances on a global scale as was seen by their effective co-ordinated action taken after the 1987 global stock market crash.

4. Who belongs to the G7 or Group of Seven Industrial Economies?

5. How do G7 summit meetings promote better economic cooperation?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.

Activity 3: Regional Economic Cooperation – Europe

By 1945 it became clear that economic cooperation was essential to Europe. At the end of World War II, Europe was devastated. Thousands of people had been killed or wounded, buildings and lands had been razed, and economies were bankrupt. Eastern Europe had been essentially annexed by the USSR. The Cold War had replaced the hot war of 1939 to 1945.

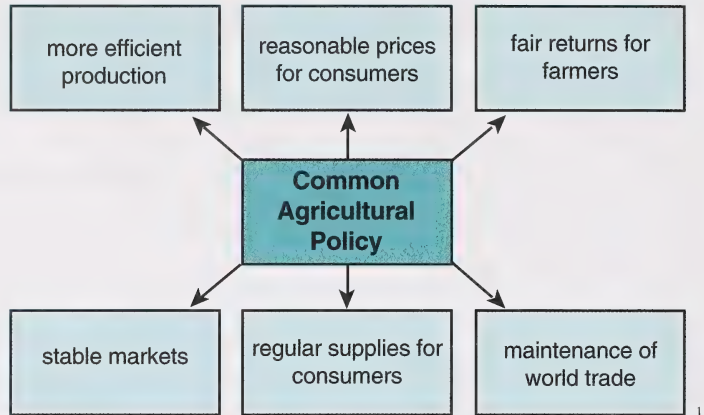
Many western European leaders felt that they must cooperate more closely to defend themselves against the Soviet Union. Some people believed that if a United States of Europe were created, another global war could be prevented. It was generally accepted that political unity would result from the positive consequences of economic cooperation. In 1957, representatives of six European nations gathered in Rome. They signed the Treaty of Rome which established a common market among those six countries – Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

ECSC (The European Coal and Steel Community): a European organization set up to pave the way for economic unity by placing its six founding members' coal and steel in a single common market

The Common Market developed through three separate organizations:

- **ECSC – The European Coal and Steel Community** (formed in 1952)
- **EEC – the European Economic Community:** This has been the most important European organization. Its aim is to abolish tariffs among member nations and to establish common agriculture and food policies.

Aims of the Common Agricultural Policy



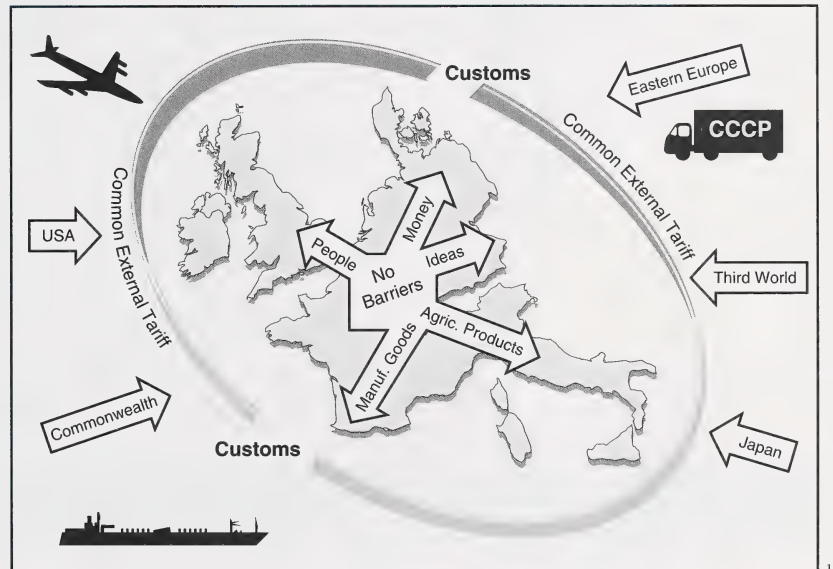
By signing the Treaty of Rome, the six countries agreed to the following:

- the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) – a plan to encourage the development and improvement of farming in all parts of the Community
- political unity – In the long term it is hoped there will be political unity through the European Parliament.
- European Social Fund – money to be made available to areas in the EEC that have serious problems, e.g., high unemployment or poor housing
- free movement of citizens and workers of member countries from one part of the EEC to another
- a European Investment Bank – to provide money for huge projects that a single country would be unable to afford
- **Euratom – the European Atomic Energy Community** (formed in 1958): The six countries that signed the Treaty of Rome formed this organization to cooperate in nuclear research.

¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the chart from *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation*. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.

- free trade within the EEC – a gradual removal of tariffs and custom duties
- a common customs barrier of all member countries against all nonmember countries

Tariffs in the Contemporary World



Britain did not initially want to join the Common Market. It felt unique in Europe and did not want to jeopardize its trade relationship with the U.S.A. or the Commonwealth. Britain could not make these types of decisions if it gave up some independence to the Common Market.

However, Britain did understand the importance of economic cooperation. In 1959 it created the **EFTA** – the European Free Trade Association. Seven nations were loosely linked together in the EFTA.

Soon after, Britain began negotiations to join the EEC, though President Charles DeGaulle of France resisted its entrance until his death. Britain finally gained admittance in 1973.

EFTA (European Free Trade Association): a loose economic organization of seven European nations created in 1959

¹ Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc. for the chart from *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation*. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc.

1. On the map of Europe that follows, label the original six countries of the EEC.



2. Why did many west Europeans see a need for closer cooperation?

3. Name and describe the three organizations that led to the development of the European Common Market.

4. What were the goals agreed upon by the six nations at the Rome Conference?

5. What was the EFTA?

6. When did Britain join the EEC?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

Europe Gets Growing Pains

Member states of the European Community are having second thoughts about breaking down the remaining barriers that separate them

In December 1991, the leaders of the 12 member countries of the European Community (EC) met in Maastricht, Belgium. In Maastricht they committed themselves to support a treaty to create a closer European political and economic union. The Maastricht Treaty is a major step toward building a united Europe, and will shape the EC for years to come. If approved by all 12 countries, it offers the European Community a chance to become a political and economic superpower in the next decade.

The architects of the Maastricht

Treaty are Germany and France. Germany designed the parts on economic and monetary union. France played a key role developing the part on political union. The treaty, as a whole, sets the course for a future all-European government. It provides for a single currency, common citizenship, common foreign and security policy, a more effective European Parliament, and a common labour policy.

The heart of the Maastricht Treaty lies in the provisions on monetary union and a single currency. Under the treaty,

the 12 member countries will adopt a single common currency by 1999. All national currencies (the French franc, the German mark, the Italian lira, and so on) will be replaced by the European Currency Unit (the ECU).

Since 1985, all EC countries have been moving rapidly to create a single, barrier-free European market for goods, services, capital, and labour. The creation of a single market is slated to be completed by January 1993.

Having 12 countries with 12 currencies complicates the free flow of commerce, and makes business more expensive. A single currency seems to be a natural extension of having a single market. Using the ECU as the sole currency will mean business will be able to price their products in one currency for the whole EC Market.

Before any EC country will be allowed to use the ECU as its currency, strict economic tests must be met. The tests are tied to a country's government debt, budget deficits, inflation rates, and exchange rates among EC countries. Right now only three countries meet the tests: France, Luxembourg, and Denmark. Some, including Greece, Italy, and Belgium, fall well short of meeting the standards set.

To have a common currency, the 12 countries have to give up their independence in setting monetary policy (interest rates, exchange rates). Monetary policy will, in future, be set for the EC as a whole. A European Monetary Institute will be created in 1994 to assume gradually the role of the EC's central bank. Germany's successful central bank, the *Bundesbank*, will be the model for the new European central bank.

In the area of social policy, the Maastricht Treaty recognizes the need for a common labour policy among EC member countries. The labour policy covers things such as minimum wages, hiring and firing, and union-management consultations. Britain, under former prime minister Margaret Thatcher, and current Prime Minister John Major, struggled for 10 years to limit union powers. As a result, the other 11 EC countries agreed to sign a separate labour policy agreement which will not apply to Britain.

The EC leaders decided that on important foreign policy questions all 12 countries must agree before the EC, as a whole, could act. Britain scuttled a plan to set common foreign policy by majority vote. The extension of Maastricht to foreign and security policy

EUROPEAN DISUNITY

As Europeans watch their borders fall and come together in greater unity, it's as well to remember that there are others who march to the beat of a different drummer. All across Europe there are groups, some small, some not so small, hoping to undermine that unity. Outright separatists, such as the *Herri Batasuna* in Spain's Basque region, or *Vlaams Blok* in Belgium, want the right to their own voice in the European Parliament. Less extreme groups want regional interest to be protected in the drive to centralize political and economic decision making. In Scotland, a recent poll found that only 4% of Scots want to see their country separate from England outside the European Community (EC); however, 25% support separation within the EC. Nationalist movements are strong in Wales, Ireland, Brittany in northwestern France, and Northern Italy. So the old desire for national boundaries still lurks under the surface of European unity.

If any seven EC countries meet the standards by January 1997, the ECU will be put into use. If not, introduction of the ECU will be delayed until 1999. At that time, the ECU would automatically be put in circulation by qualifying countries.

arose from Franco-German efforts.

Following the opening of the Berlin Wall, German chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterand had worked to develop joint strategy toward Eastern Europe. Based on this

experience, they believe the EC as a whole could benefit from common policies toward other countries.

The EC had been divided over how to respond during the Persian Gulf War. The member countries have different views about how to deal with the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. And, the 12 countries have different ideas about how to participate in rebuilding Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union. Creating a united EC foreign policy could increase Europe's influence in international affairs.

The traditional lack of policy coordination among the 12 countries also has been a problem in the security area. Under Maastricht, there will be greater cooperation among the 12 on refugees, immigration, and political asylum. Europol, the first step toward an EC police and intelligence service, will be set up. Europol will handle Europe-wide organized crime and drug trafficking investigations.

The 12 governments agreed to create a new common defence arrangement. The Western European Union (WEU), an inactive discussion group for nine EC countries was selected to be the Community's military "pillar." It will coordinate its activities with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The WEU could become the joint command centre for the new Franco-German combined armed forces. Over time, the US-dominated NATO is likely to fade as more EC countries contribute to an all-European defence pact.

The treaty includes measures to bring about eventual European citizenship. Citizens of Community countries already use a common EC passport. The governments decided that now every citizen of an EC member country should have the right to vote in local and European elections no matter where he or she lives in the Community. An Italian living in Britain, for example, could stand for

election to local office, as well as vote for local government councillors.

The elected European Parliament received no authority to make laws for the Community as a whole. But it will have the right to veto important types of legislation affecting EC affairs.

The European Commission is the Community's day-to-day decision-making centre, located in Brussels. The Commission receives new powers under the treaty. Brussels will have more authority to act on industrial affairs, technology, health, education, and the environment. It gets a greater role in decisions on pan-European networks such as electric power grids, communications, roads, and computer links.

Before the deal can be implemented, it must be approved or ratified by all 12 member countries. Only Ireland and Denmark were required by their constitutions to put the treaty to a referendum. On 2 June 1992, Danish voters narrowly rejected the treaty. Ireland approved it the same month. Greece, Belgium, and Luxembourg ratified Maastricht over the summer. But the Danish rejection raises the possibility that the peoples of Europe are not ready for a closer European Union.

Hoping to counteract opposition elsewhere to the treaty, French President Mitterand decided to hold a referendum to show France's strong commitment to the new European Union. Other EC countries – Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, Netherlands, and Portugal – decided to hold off approving Maastricht until the results of the French vote were known.

On 20 September 1992, more than 70% of the 38 million registered French voters cast their ballots. The French public voted 51% in favour of Maastricht, and 49% against it. This result was not the ringing endorsement the yes camp had hoped for. Such a high level of opposition to the treaty could not be ignored easily. After all, France has been

an enthusiastic supporter of a united Europe for more than 30 years.

The treaty is in trouble on several points. The timetable for a single currency is in tatters. Unfortunately, a currency crisis had been looming in the EC for nearly two years. To sustain Germany's massive spending in former East Germany, the *Bundesbank* had to keep German interest rates high in relation to other EC countries. This attracted investment funds to Germany and kept the German mark strong. But it was very hard on other EC countries. In the midst of recession, other EC countries had to keep their interest rates up to compete for international investment funds. In particular, the British pound and other weak European currencies were battered by the German interest rate policy.

agreements among the EC countries regarding economic cooperation and exchange rates. The chaos in EC currency markets raised doubts about the survival of the existing European monetary system. Combined with the underwhelming French yes vote, the Maastricht plan for economic and monetary union could unravel quickly. It looks very unlikely that Europe will have a single currency for a long time.

Another sore point is public mistrust of any plan that gives more power to the unpopular European Commission in Brussels. Both Danish and French voters showed that the political union provisions have little appeal to the average citizen. Many people do not like the idea of giving more power to faceless, unelected bureaucrats in Brussels. And most

JOINING THE CLUB

Turkey applied for membership in the European Community (EC) in 1987, it's still waiting for a favourable response. Meanwhile, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, and Finland, who applied for membership only recently, have been put on the fast-track to join. The EC's main objection to Turkish membership is the country's poor record on human rights, and the treatment of its Kurdish minority. Also, Greece, an EC member, has blocked Turkey because of a long-standing fight over Cyprus.

As uncertainty increased about the outcome of the French vote, investors holding weak European currencies began to panic. And money traders and currency speculators saw a chance to make millions of dollars in overnight profits. Speculators began selling weak European currencies. Many bought German marks.

Within days, the British and Italian governments had an economic crisis on their hands. The *Bundesbank* printed 24 billion marks to buy lira in a failed attempt to support the currency. Overnight, the British, Italian, and Spanish governments were forced to lower the value of their money.

In a desperate attempt to protect their economies, the British and Italian governments withdrew the pound and the lira from the European club of currencies. This disrupted long-standing

ordinary citizens in each country have great pride in their national identity, history, and culture. They see themselves as "French," or "British," or "Italian." They do not regard themselves as "Europeans." This means the powerful, centralized government proposed in Maastricht will have to be redesigned. There are strong public pressures for greater emphasis on national sovereignty and local government powers.

Pro-Maastricht forces responded quickly to the currency meltdown and the lukewarm French vote. EC foreign ministers met September 21 and pledged to complete ratification of the treaty. They said the treaty should not be renegotiated, and speedy ratification was necessary. On the same day, however, Chancellor Kohl said it would be necessary to make adjustments and correct mistakes related to Maastricht.

With a tidal wave of public scepticism building across Europe, it is expected that talks will occur to create a better, more acceptable treaty. A redefinition of the Maastricht Treaty is likely to begin this winter.

Denmark is still searching for a way to ratify the treaty over its rejection by Danish voters. Britain says it will not complete ratification until the Danish have a new plan. This brings added pressure for altering the treaty because Denmark also wants more talks to make the treaty more acceptable to all Europeans.

In spite of recent setbacks, chances are good that a modified Maastricht Treaty will be put in place. But a revised Maastricht Treaty will remain true to the principles of a closer European Union.¹

**EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
CALENDAR**

1951 - Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, West Germany, and the Netherlands join together to regulate their coal and steel industries.

1957—Under the Treaty of Rome, the six form the European Economic Community.

1973 – Three more countries enter the community; Britain, Denmark, and the Irish Republic.

1979—First direct elections in which EC citizens vote to send members to the European Parliament.

1981 – Greece becomes a member.

1986 – Spain and Portugal join, bringing the total to 12.

1990—East Germany becomes a member as it re-unifies with West Germany.

1992—The EC considers applications for membership from Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Malta, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

7. Using different sources of media such as newspapers, magazines, and television newscasts, update the status of the Maastricht Treaty and note what other countries have been given membership into the European community organization.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Europe Gets Growing Pains," by David Cook, December 1992, pp. 28–31. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Other Common Markets

Although Europe’s EEC is one of the best known common markets, others have existed and still do exist. Two such common markets are:

- **Comecon** – Council for Mutual Economic Assistance: This was a Communist version of the Common Market established by the Soviet Union. It allowed for preferential trade deals for members of the Communist bloc which were the satellite countries of Eastern Europe under the Soviet sphere of influence.
- **ASEAN** – Association of Southeast Asian Nations: This is an organization established to accelerate economic progress and to increase the stability of the Southeast Asian region. Thailand, Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philipines were the original members.

8. Name and describe two organizations other than the EEC that were set up to promote regional economic cooperation.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Multinational Corporations

Recently a new type of international force has emerged. Based mainly on economic concerns, **multinational corporations** have promoted economic cooperation while engaging in business in many nations of the world.

The end of World War II marked the real beginning or the emergence of this powerful economic force – the multinational corporation. Highly successful companies have expanded their trade operations to many different countries of the world. These corporations are called *multinationals* because they operate in many countries. Keeping a head office in one country, they set up branch plants and offices in others.



Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance): the communist equivalent of the Common Market

ASEAN (Associations of Southeast Asian Nations): an organization established to accelerate economic progress and to increase the stability of the Southeast Asian region

*Multinational corporations: companies centred in one country that have expanded their trade operations to many countries of the world
They maintain branch plants in several countries and a head office in one.*

Multinational corporations establish branch plant operations in other countries for the following reasons:

- **markets** – These corporations would like to find new buyers for their products.
- **raw materials** – The “mother country” in which the company operates may need new sources of raw materials to make the finished product.
- **cheaper labour** – Labour laws and cost of living may be lower in other countries; this is advantageous to labour-intensive companies.
- **tax advantages** – Tax laws may be more favorable in other countries; in fact, many governments lure multinationals into their countries with tax incentives.
- **antipollution laws** – These may be less strict in other countries.

For these reasons, multinational companies aggressively pursue the establishment of branch plants all over the world. Often the best locations for these operations are in the Third World. Countries in the **Pacific Rim**, such as Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore, provide multinationals with favourable sites. However, many of these countries themselves are establishing successful corporations which are seeking ways to move their companies into the developed world.

Pacific Rim countries: countries such as Taiwan, Korea, China, and Japan

The Pacific Rim countries are becoming a formidable economic force in the world.

Here is a list of some famous multinationals:

- Exxon (or Esso) – American
- IBM (International Business Machines) – American
- ITT (International Telephone and Telecommunications) – American
- Royal Dutch Shell Oil – Dutch
- Mitsubishi – Japanese

Many people argue that multinational corporations have had a positive impact on the world. They point out that multinationals have achieved the following results:

- They have transcended national interests by becoming truly international, thereby encouraging economic cooperation among many countries aiming toward common goals. They have replaced economic nationalism with international economic cooperation.
- They have brought jobs to other nations in need of work.
- They have provided international consumers with their products, thereby increasing choice.
- They have stimulated other business activity in the recipient countries.
- They have often brought broadly based experience and technological know-how.

Oligopoly: an economic situation in which each of a few producers affects, but doesn't fully control, a market

Neocolonialism: a situation in which one country indirectly influences or controls a weaker country

Other people point out these problems created by multinationals:

- The streamlined effectiveness of multinational operations often gives them an edge over local business.
- Multinationals dealing in large numbers of products can produce and sell them at a cheaper rate, and can thereby establish **oligopolies** or monopolies.
- They can create a branch-plant economy where the recipient only supplies raw materials and cheap, relatively unskilled labour.
- Few top-level managerial and executive positions are established in these countries.
- Governments in branch-plant economies do not encourage research and development; this is done in the mother country.
- Multinationals may not be sensitive to the needs of the environment in other countries.
- They may ignore or manipulate labour laws of other countries.
- The very size of these corporations makes it difficult to police their activities.
- **Neocolonialism** can develop, with strong nations using multinationals to dominate weaker nations through economic imperialism. Some multinationals have been linked to coups and revolutions which overthrew governments hostile to corporation interests.

Now do the exercise that follows.

1. What is a multinational corporation?

2. What are branch plants?

3. Give five reasons why multinationals set up branch plants in other countries.

4. a. Where is the “Pacific Rim”?
-
- b. Why is it an important region for multinationals?
-
-
5. Give two examples of multinational corporations.
-
-
6. Organize the positive and negative effects of multinational corporations in the following chart:

Positive Effects	Negative Effects

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 4.

Activity 5: Regional Economic Cooperation – North America



The spirit of international economic cooperation has emerged as the prevailing approach among many western leaders such as former American President Reagan and former British Prime Minister Thatcher. Canada's former Prime Minister Mulroney believed that economic cooperation was essential to the growth of our country. One of the most important means to this end, Mulroney believed, was the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Although Canada enjoyed a postwar boom similar to the U.S.A.'s, problems began to emerge by the 1960s and 1970s. Inflation and unemployment took their toll, but one of the most pressing problems was foreign trade and investment.

Canadians bought foreign, mainly American, goods in record numbers in the 1950s. This caused a massive flow of money out of Canada. The value of the Canadian dollar dropped drastically, bottoming out in the late 1970s. This environment made it attractive to foreign investors. Former Liberal Prime Minister Trudeau became concerned that Canada was allowing too much foreign investment and selling out our natural resources to the U.S. He believed that with the presence of so many American multinationals in Canada, our nation had created a branch-plant economy.

Most of the Trudeau administration was characterized by protectionist policies and agencies such as the foreign investment regulator FIRA (Foreign Investment Review Agency), the National Energy policy, and Petro Canada. But by the 1980s, Canada still faced grave economic problems.

Trudeau established a Royal Commission on the economy. The commission did not release its report until 1985. By then, the Conservative government of Mulroney had attained power. The cornerstone of the report was the recommendation of the free trade agreement with the U.S.A. Since this was consistent with Mulroney's economic philosophy – a policy shared by U.S. President Reagan and British Prime Minister Thatcher – the Canadian government aggressively pursued such an agreement.

After several years of negotiation and a bitter election battle in Canada, the Free Trade Agreement came into effect on January 1, 1989.

The Mulroney government's pursuit of a free trade agreement created a national debate. Two general arguments emerged.

Arguments for the Free Trade Agreement	Arguments Against the Free Trade Agreement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If trade is unrestricted, more Canadian goods will be bought and sold. • Consumers will pay lower prices because of competition and lower tariffs. • Tariffs breed more protectionism. • The U.S. and Canada share a resource-rich continent and have become each other's biggest trading partners. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any Canadian company may be threatened by better or cheaper imports. • Canadian companies may face more competition resulting in more bankruptcies and more unemployment. • If a country imports too much, it suffers a negative balance of payments (it buys more than it sells). • This will lead to greater economic dependency on the U.S.A. and exploitation of Canadian resources.

In 1992 talks were begun to expand the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States to three-partner agreement that included Mexico. This agreement which became known as NAFTA – the North American Free Trade Agreement – went into effect on January 1, 1994, after being ratified by the Canadian, Mexican, and United States governments. Read the two articles that follow for information on what the deal involves and some problems that had to be worked out before it eventually was passed by the three governments involved.

Three-Way Deal

*The North American Free Trade Agreement
must now be ratified by legislators and faces big hurdles,
especially in the United States*

Giant trading blocs are the wave of the future. Within such blocs in Europe, Asia, and the Americas, trade is free or at least freer. Outside them or between them GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) is desperately trying to enforce rules leading to global free trade.

The latest of these huge trade zones may soon be forming in North America. On 12 August, Canadian, American, and Mexican negotiators approved a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). If ratified (confirmed) by the U.S. Congress, our Parliament, and the

Mexican Senate, it will move us closer to a common continental market for goods and services. An important access clause will also leave the door open for Latin American countries which may later wish to join.

In our 1988 Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the U.S., Canada was the eager suitor. We wanted to expand trade relations with our biggest trading partner and to guard against growing American protectionism (trade barriers). This time the impetus comes from Mexico. President Carlos Salinas de Gortari wants

to move his country of 84 million from the Third World to the more exclusive First World club. Mexico joined the GATT in 1986, a giant step toward lowering tariff walls. Since then it has controlled foreign debt, reduced inflation, and privatized inefficient state enterprises. Salinas is now eyeing the richest market in the world to his north as Mexico's ticket to prosperity.

Canada, this time around, has been at the negotiating table for defensive reasons. We wanted to make sure there would be no separate U.S.-Mexico deal which would undercut the FTA or give Mexico concessions not granted to us. Polls have shown that 80% of Canadians agreed we should take part in the negotiations, but only 29% favour actually joining a three-nation pact.

These are the NAFTA terms which most concern Canada:

- Cultural industry protection (for books, magazines, the arts) remain as in the FTA.
- Health and social services are exempted from NAFTA provisions.
- Canada's policy prohibiting large-scale export of water is not affected.
- Mexico agrees to remove most telecommunications tariffs over 10 years and to allow duty-free access at once for telecommunications equipment. Canada's Northern Telecom and Mitel should benefit.
- Canada's Autopact with the U.S. continues. Mexico's highly-protected auto market will gradually be opened up to duty-free imports from Canada and the United States, and cars are our most important export.
- Canadian clothing manufacturers, most of them in Quebec, say they will be hit hard by tighter rules of origin for yarns and fabrics. Apparel companies fashion their products mainly from cheaper materials from Europe and Asia. Under NAFTA

rules only clothing made from North American yarns and fabrics will qualify for duty-free status. Our textile industry, in contrast, is delighted. Its duty-free quota for export to the U.S. has been more than doubled.

- Canada keeps the right, negotiated in the FTA, to screen U.S. investment here. The Americans had bargained hard to have the screening removed.
- Mexico will allow access to its market in financial institutions, securities brokers, and insurance companies after a period of transition. Canadian bankers see opportunities down the road because Mexico has relatively few branch banks and Canadian banks are expert at setting up branch networks.
- Negotiators saw environmental issues as an important part of the deal. Mexican standards have been low, and to satisfy environmental lobbies here and in the U.S. they need to improve. A provision in the NAFTA says that health, safety, and environmental standards may not be lowered to attract investment.
- Our FTA dispute settlement process is strengthened to further limit one-sided action by any of the trading partners.

Mexico, as the weakest (per capita income is one sixth that of its partners) and most heavily protected economy will have to make the biggest adjustment under the NAFTA. The United States, which has two-way annual trade with Mexico of about \$64 billion, will have to make adjustments as some jobs are lost and retraining is needed for new ones.

Canada will be the least affected. Our imports from Mexico averaged about \$2 billion over the last three years, about 0.3% of our Gross Domestic Product of \$674 billion in 1991. Of those imports, about 80% already enter tariff-free and the average duty on the rest is just about 2%. Our exports to

Mexico are a tiny \$500 million per year. Trade with Mexico may and should increase if NAFTA passes but not in any staggering amounts.

Ratifying the NAFTA will be by no means a breeze except perhaps in Mexico. There, President Salinas' powerful Institutional Revolutionary Party holds 61 of the 64 Senate seats. In Canada, the agreement must be approved by both Houses of Parliament. Since eight new Senate seats were created to ram through the Goods and Services Tax, the Conservatives now have a majority there; the upper house will likely stamp its approval on the NAFTA.

The federal government promises a full debate on it in the Commons, probably early next year. New parliamentary rules, however, limit opportunities to block ratification of the treaty. The New Democrats are the strongest opponents in the House; the Liberals, though in general free traders, are split over whether this particular deal is a good one for Canada.

Outside parliament, various groups promise a battle to match the one they fought against the original FTA.

In the United States, after President Bush has signed the deal and various advisory groups have handed in their evaluations, the NAFTA goes to the two Houses of Congress (House of Representatives and Senate). Congress then has 90 days to examine and debate it, though it may not amend it in any way. A yes or no vote would follow, probably by next summer at the earliest. If passed by all three countries, the NAFTA would go into effect on 1 January 1994.

All this assumes that George Bush will be reelected. If Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton enters the White House, he might call for the whole deal to be renegotiated. As a Democrat, he is concerned; (a) that more protection for the environment may need to be written into the pact, and (b) that American workers may require more guarantees of support and retraining after job losses.

In Canada, enemies of the deal

outside Parliament include organized labour, nationalist groups, and certain provinces. Robert White, president of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), is leading the labour union assault on both the NAFTA and the earlier FTA. Among nationalist group opponents, Maude Barlow's Council of Canadians and Tony Clarke's Action Canada Network are the best known.

Anti-NAFTA forces, both in and out of Parliament, focus chiefly on cheap Mexican labour. It will, they say, force businesses to close here or relocate in Mexico, with massive job losses. We will be flooded with cheap imports from Mexico, damaging our manufacturing industries. The upsurge of business from free trade will further exploit the low-paid Mexican labour force. Critics also point to the fairly weak environmental standards written into the treaty to compel Mexican industry to clean up. Nor, they say, does the agreement do anything to improve the rights of Mexican workers to join unions of their choice or to bargain collectively.

Those who defend the NAFTA scoff at fears about cheap Mexican labour. How can the trickle of trade we're likely to do with Mexico even after the deal goes through lead to "the devastation of the economy" as the CLC's Bob White argues? With four-fifths of our imports from Mexico already duty free, we haven't been swamped by a flood of their cheap, low-wage goods. Labour cost is measured by productivity, how much it costs per unit to make widgets or anything else. That's why Canada buys 80% of its imports from high-wage countries such as the United States, Japan, Germany, and Britain. If cheap labour was the only factor, the workshops of the world would be in Haiti or Madagascar.

True, some labour intensive Canadian industries (more workers needed per unit produced) may move to Mexico. That needn't worry us, say NAFTA supporters, as long as we replace jobs lost in that way with more high-tech, high wage jobs in industries such

as telecommunications. The only problem then would be to help workers to switch to these better-paying jobs.

Mexicans will benefit too, say supporters of the pact. With Mexico's borders open to trade, prosperity will grow and incomes rise closer to levels in the U.S. and Canada. Increased revenues will allow industry and government to improve the environment in the

workplace.

For now, however, all arguments pro and con are academic. Politics, particularly in the United States, make the NAFTA's passage into law a chancy thing. And, even if it makes the grade, its long phase-in times for removing duties won't allow us to measure its effects until well beyond the year 2000.¹

The Side Deals Deal

*There remains only one obstacle to free trade
among Canada, Mexico, and the United States*

A year ago we reported on the progress of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Negotiators from Canada, the United States, and Mexico had by then agreed on a free trade deal which had to be ratified (confirmed) by our Parliament, the U.S. Congress, and the Mexican Senate. If all three legislatures approved, it would go into effect on 1 January 1994. Tariffs and other trade barriers among the three countries would then gradually disappear over the next ten years.

That was the suggested time-table, but it didn't allow for a change in the American presidency. Bill Clinton became the new White House occupant last January, and in his election campaign he had promised to work for improvements in NAFTA's clauses on labour and the environment. Many Americans feared that cheap labour in Mexico would lure U.S. businesses south of the Rio Grande river with resulting job losses at home. There was also concern that lax environmental standards in the Mexican workplace would draw investment south of the border. The U.S. enforces stricter anti-pollution laws, and to comply its industries must spend more.

Negotiations to toughen the

statements on labour and the environment in NAFTA, called side deals, had been going on since last winter. The U.S. wanted to apply sanctions to industries which persistently violated their own country's environment and/or labour laws. The sanctions would take the form of tariffs (taxes) imposed on the industry's products being exported to the United States.

Mexico, while it objected to such sanctions, finally realized that they might be the price of winning a majority vote for NAFTA in the U.S. Congress. Reluctantly, it accepted the U.S. condition of sanctions in the side deals.

Canada took a very different position. While the risk of American sanctions on our exports to the U.S. might be remote our negotiators saw them as a dangerous loophole for American businesses. Violations of our labour and environment laws, though usually minor, do occur. Ottawa foresaw that American businesses competing with ours might seize on what they saw to be violations as excuses to slap duties on our exports going across the border. The protectionists would have a toe-hold, and the whole idea of free and fair trade in the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement of 1988 would be threatened.

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Three-Way Deal," by Charles A. White, October 1992, pp. 7-9. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Ottawa and its negotiators held out against sanctions in the side deals. Our position was strengthened because the side deals were not really aimed at Canada but at Mexico, where the United States is convinced that the government has failed to enforce its environmental and labour laws.

In the end, we won, though at the taxpayer's expense. In mid-August, International Trade Minister Thomas Hockin was able to announce that agreement had been reached on the side deals and that "Canada will never be subject to sanctions." Canada is to be given special treatment if it persistently fails to enforce Canadian environmental or labour laws. The side deals provide for fines of up to \$20 million (U.S.) to be paid by Ottawas in such cases.

Two three-nation commissions will be set up to see that each partner enforces its own environment and labour laws. If they find persistent breaches of a law by Canadian industry, we'll be subject to a fine but only if both the United States and Mexico launch a complaint together and only after all three nations have held a lengthy discussion of the problem. Canada's trade partners, however, will have the right to ask a Canadian court to enforce commission rulings, a right that Canada will not have in the United States or Mexico.

Canada is accepting these penalties as trade-offs for its exemption from trade sanctions. These sanctions would still apply to both the U.S. and Mexico, and the Canadian government would be free to raise tariffs on their exports to us as a penalty for violating the side deals.

The application of the side deals in Canada is complicated a bit by the division of powers between Ottawa and the provinces. Winning special status within NAFTA on these deals may be a federal victory, but labour and labour laws are under provincial jurisdiction and environment is a shared responsibility.

Each province must now decide whether to sign on to the side deals.

Federal bureaucrats are confident that most of them will do so because only by signing will they be able to protect themselves from action by the United States and Mexico. And, only by getting under the side-deal umbrella can they influence actions against the U.S. and Mexico.

Both the House of Commons and the Senate in Canada have ratified NAFTA. Ratification by the Mexican Senate this fall is certain because the ruling party has an overwhelming majority there.

In the United States, final approval may be tougher to achieve. One snag is a federal court ruling that the government must prepare a formal report on the environmental impact of the proposed pact before it is submitted to Congress. This may be appealed right up to the Supreme Court but inevitable delays would postpone the target date of New Year's Day 1994 for starting up NAFTA. President Clinton has an option, however. He can still push ahead with ratifying the pact if he's willing to take a political bruising for ignoring the lower court.

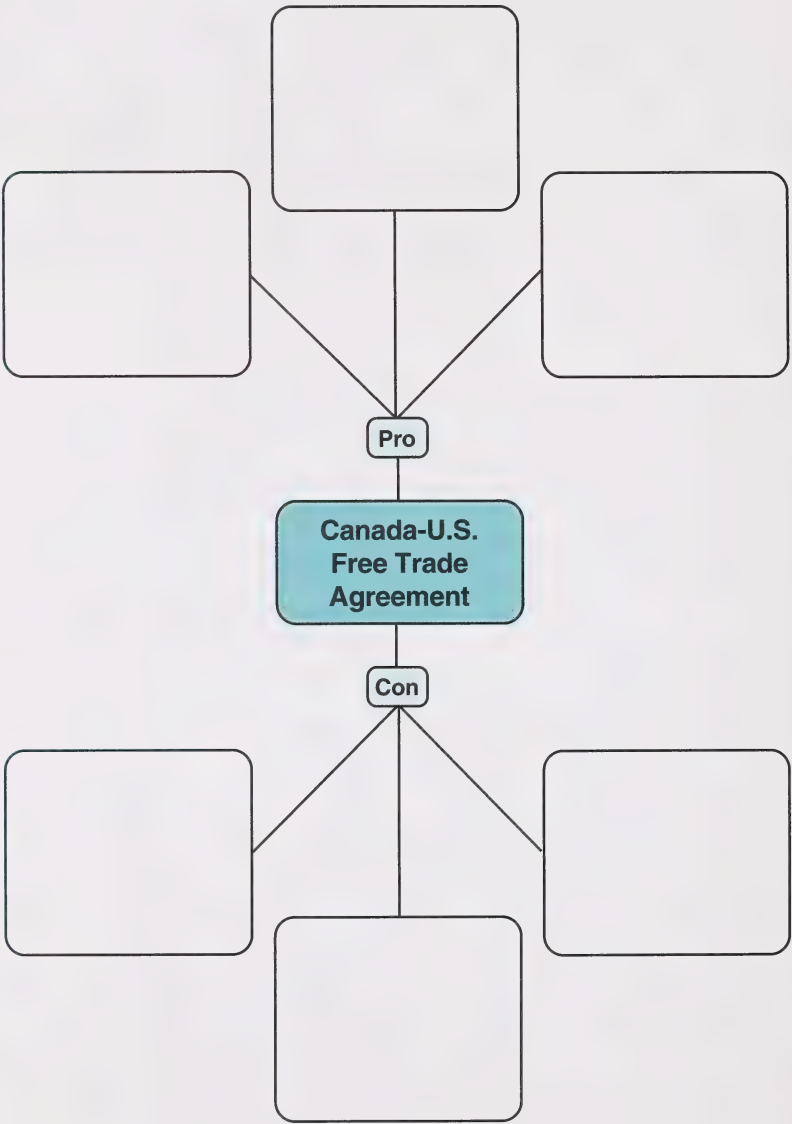
A more important and perhaps fatal obstacle to NAFTA's approval is the rough ride it may get in the U.S. Congress. Richard Gephardt, leader of the Democrats in the House of Representatives, is spearheading the opposition of protectionists who want no part of NAFTA. Arguing that the side deals are too weak to prevent loss of jobs to cheap Mexican labour, they're expected to make victory for the yes side touch and go.

After editing the draft legislation to meet congressional objections, the final text goes to the House and Senate and the clock starts. Congress then has a maximum of 90 days to approve or reject NAFTA, with no amendments.

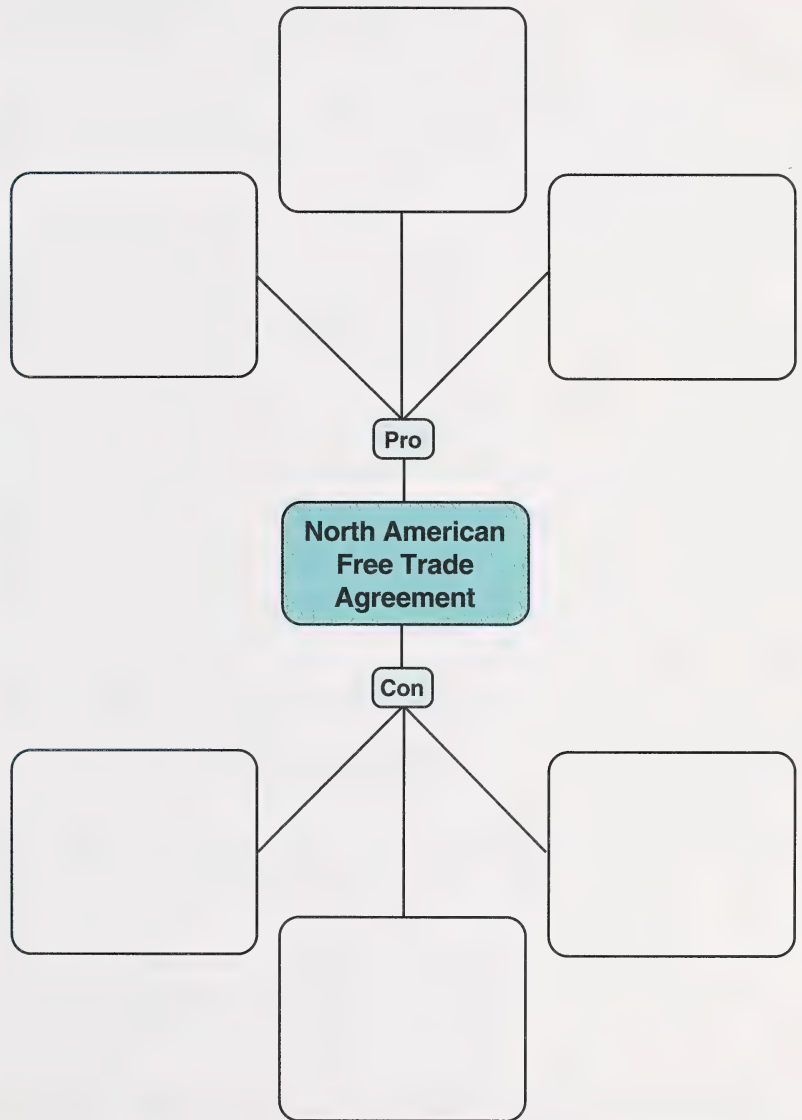
So it's there, on Capitol Hill, that the fate of continental free trade now hangs in the balance.¹

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "The Side Deals Deal," by Charles A. White, October 1993, pp. 6–7. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

1. Complete the concept map that follows, labelling three arguments **for** the Free Trade Agreement on the top of the map, and three arguments **against** it on the bottom.



2. Consider what some of the main arguments for and against the North American Free Trade Agreement would be from a Canadian perspective. Use the concept map that follows to give three arguments for and three against this agreement as it concerns Canadians.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 5.

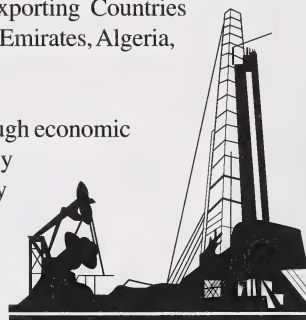
Activity 6: OPEC

After many years of multinational presence in their countries, many Third World governments are seeking ways to gain economic independence and improve trade relations with the world. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed to improve the national economic interests of each member through economic cooperation.

The world has long known the importance of petroleum in supplying our energy needs. As coal was gradually replaced by oil as the primary industrial fuel, petroleum became a precious commodity.

In January 1961, a multinational organization consisting of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela was established to coordinate the petroleum policies of its members and to provide technical and economic aid to its member states. Countries that later joined the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) include Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, United Arab Emirates, Algeria, Nigeria, Ecuador, and Gabon.

OPEC is a cartel. The OPEC nations found that through economic cooperation they could gain enormous advantage. They found that they could control the world price of oil by withholding supply and selling to the highest bidder. OPEC countries have accumulated billion of dollars from the sale of their oil, which has greatly helped the economies of these Third World countries.



This shows a basic paradox of regional or group economic cooperation. If you give members of your group preferential trade, and share profits at the expense of nonmembers, conflict can result. This can be true of the EEC and FTA (Free Trade Agreement) as well.

In 1973 the Arab OPEC countries stopped selling oil to some countries that were supporting Israel in the Yom Kippur War against the Arabs. This seriously affected the U.S.A., West Germany, and the Netherlands, where oil became scarce.

Because people are willing to pay high prices for oil, OPEC greatly increased prices between 1973 and 1979. The price of a barrel of crude oil rose from U.S. \$3.00 in 1973 to \$30.00 in 1980. OPEC changed the shape of international economics and politics.

For their part, the member nations of OPEC have redefined international economic relations. As **nonaligned nations**, they have carved out their own niche in global economic and political relations.

Now answer the questions that follow.

Nonaligned nations: countries allied with neither the communist nor non-communist blocs

1. What is a cartel?

2. Why can OPEC be considered a cartel?

3. What are the positive consequences of the formation of OPEC?

4. What are the negative consequences?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 6.

Activity 7: Other Regional Organizations of Cooperation

OAU (Organization of African Unity): an organization of African nations that attempts to achieve unity and cooperation throughout the continent

Colonies: territories that are dominated politically and economically by foreign powers

Pan-African: promoting the interests of all peoples in Africa

Out of the chaos of recent history, newly emerging African nations have struggled to find a way of achieving and continuing independence. They recognize that the most effective means towards this goal is economic development, which has been a primary aim of the **Organization of African Unity**.

History has seen the continent of Africa carved up by colonial empires such as those of Britain, France, and Germany. By the end of World War II, a strong independence movement had developed in most African **colonies**. Africans came to resent the exploiting of their countries and the way they themselves were treated like second-class citizens. Several **Pan-African** meetings took place to map routes toward self-determination.



The damage inflicted by World War II caused many Europeans to question the wisdom of maintaining colonial empires. Most European nations were not anxious to fight costly wars of independence in faraway places.

Most European governments, however, initially resisted independence efforts in Africa. Some measures of self-government were introduced, but full self-determination was not granted. Some African leaders resorted to violence, but most nations achieved independence through peaceful means.

By 1950 there were four independent nations in Africa: Liberia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and South Africa. By 1968 there were thirty-eight new nations, and by 1982 the number had risen to fifty.

Although the colonial system in Africa left some positive results, such as the existence of roads, schools, railways, and harbours, serious problems remained behind as well. Since colonial administration had not allowed for native leaders, new African states often lacked skilled statesmen to guide them on their new path. When colonial boundaries were drawn, little regard was given to geography, religion, language, or tribal origin. Thus, new African nations had no traditions of unity. Religious, linguistic, and cultural rivalries inhibited efforts to achieve unity.

As usual, the superpowers tried strongly to influence the ideologies of the burgeoning independence movements. The U.S.A. wanted the colonies to become capitalist democracies, while the USSR encouraged socialism in Africa. Both wanted access to the vast natural resources of Africa.

Most African leaders see economic development as the key to the unified stability of their nations. Along with many new nations in Asia, they stress the importance of improving agriculture and industry.

Many have begun programs to modernize traditional and subsistence forms of farming. They have also attempted to shift the emphasis from cash-crop production to food-crop production to promote self-sufficiency. Crises such as drought and famine remain a frustrating obstacle to African progress. Many nations continue to rely on foreign-aid programs.

Capital, raw materials, and skilled labour are needed for industrial development. European colonizers exploited resources and labour, and multinationals have continued this tradition. Many African nations have tried to hold back this process by retaining national ownership of key industries by means of aid packages from various wealthy countries.

Independent African leaders have worked to establish a sense of continental African unity. They see an African cooperative spirit as essential to progress and development of their nations and continent. These independent African nations have created a large bloc of nations that have become known as a “nonaligned.” This means they were not aligned with either superpower. Their effort in the United Nations has been very dramatic since the General Assembly is based on one vote per country. Several key votes have been lost by the superpowers in the General Assembly of the UN.

In 1963, thirty African nations met to promote this Pan-African spirit. In the capital of Ethiopia they signed a charter establishing the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Goals of the OAU:

- to promote African unity
- to encourage economic cooperation
- to settle issues that arise among members
- to support the struggle for independence of all black Africans

The OAU has met with some successes including mediation in the Algerian-Moroccan dispute (1964–65) and in the Somalia-Ethiopia and Kenya-Somalia border disputes (1965–67). The organization also suffered setbacks with unsuccessful mediation efforts in the civil war in Nigeria (1968–70) and attempted mediation to halt the civil war in Chad (1980s). Many Africans are very protective of their independence and do not tolerate any outside interference – even from the OAU.

Now answer the following.

1. Why did Africans want independence from the colonial system?

2. What is a “Pan-African” movement?

3. How did the end of World War II contribute to independence movements in Africa?

4. How did the superpowers try to influence the African independence movements and nations?

5. What was the positive legacy of the colonial system in Africa?

6. What were the negative results?

7. What do African leaders believe to be essential to continued progress?

8. Answer the following four of the five W's of the OAU:

a. What is it?

b. When was it founded?

c. Where was it organized?

d. Why was it created?

9. What are the goals of the OAU?

10. Why has the OAU not been as successful as was envisioned?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 7.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

This activity has been designed as a review of some of the important organizations discussed in Section 3 – organizations that have attempted to promote economic cooperation among nations.

Complete the following chart by explaining how each of the organizations listed has promoted economic cooperation, but may also cause conflict.

	Cooperation	Conflict
United Nations	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
EEC	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
Multinationals	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

FTA		
NAFTA		
OPEC		
OAU		

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Extra Help.

Enrichment

Section 3 has very briefly discussed several economic organizations. Due to the volume of material covered in Social Studies 30, it has been impossible to do little more than touch upon each organization.

If you wish to learn more about any one of these groups – how it operates, what it has accomplished – pick that one and research it in your local library (your librarian will help). Then write up your findings in a short paper. (Use your own paper.)

Two organizations about which you will find a great deal written in recent years are OPEC and the EEC.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Enrichment.

Conclusion

From your study of Section 3, you can draw two general conclusions:

- Global interactions are becoming increasingly influenced by economic developments.
- Large scale cooperation and understanding are being attempted in a number of regions.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the assignment for this section.

Global Responsibility and Cooperation



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What are some of the major problems facing you as a Canadian? What issues must Canada deal with? Besides national unity, what are some of the environmental and economic concerns that need to be dealt with? Are other countries also trying to deal with similar environmental and economic problems? How is Canada affected by what happens in other parts of the world in regard to how people change their environments? Will what happens in Brazil's rain forests really have an impact on your life? Who is responsible for what is happening to Earth's environment? Should people in all countries be encouraged to share in the responsibility of making our planet a better place to live? Considering the scope of the problems facing the planet, would a team effort by all countries not be more effective in coming up with solutions rather than each country working alone to solve the problems?

Attempts have been made to create a more cooperative world – to encourage global responsibility for improving the future for the generations to come.

Upon finishing this section you should be able to

- apply the concept of cooperation to important terms such as *disarmament*, *détente*, *justice*, *humanitarianism*, and *environmental responsibility*
- discuss important international developments in bringing about cooperative agreements in such areas as the arms race, the environment, and human rights

Activity 1: Disarmament and Arms Control

In this century, the world has seen a great deal of conflict – often leading to war. You have seen in this module that when the superpowers emerged, and with them the destructive capability of nuclear weapons, the world did not experience a global war. Instead, the superpowers waged a Cold War of threats, or used proxy wars – indirect confrontations – to avoid a nuclear war.

You also saw in Module 6 that the United Nations was organized to work toward international peace and cooperation. Certainly the reason for the search for peace and cooperation comes from a desire for global security in the face of war and possible annihilation.

One writer described security like this:

Security is not achieved by building a fortress in a fearful world. Rather, it comes as a consequence of peace with justice and depends upon much more than military might. Security depends on the health of the environment, the welfare of individual citizens, a	sustainable economy and responsive national institutions. When these are threatened, security is diminished and nations look to weapons for their safety. In the end, these bristling arsenals have only made us more insecure. We need a new approach to international security. ¹
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Ultimately, it seems apparent that the world can choose between the confrontation of the Cold War or the cooperation of nuclear disarmament.

1. How has our desire for global security created the movement toward disarmament?

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2. Contrast the term *Cold War* with *disarmament*.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

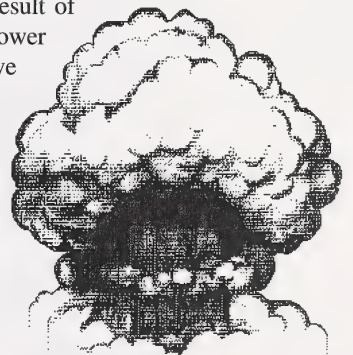
Background

The horror of Hiroshima is still fresh in the minds of many people. Unleashing nuclear weapons on Japan at the end of World War II drove the wedge further between the USSR and U.S.A. The Cold War had begun.

The superpowers found themselves in the following situations:

- a war of words and threats
- an arms race of incredible proportions – both nuclear and conventional arms
- regional, proxy wars – limited wars in which they attempted to establish a government of their ideology or to prevent their enemy from doing the same
- competition for natural resources in key areas like the Middle East

Tensions between the superpowers grew as a result of these characteristics of the Cold War. Superpower leaders did, however, understand the destructive potential of nuclear weapons and knew that a **total nuclear war** would probably destroy the world. They came to the conclusion that Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) was really the only means of maintaining peace. The mutual assurance that everyone, including the superpowers, would lose in a nuclear holocaust was a powerful deterrent to direct superpower confrontation.



***Total nuclear war:** a war in which the nuclear powers would unleash all their nuclear weapons against their enemies*

This is in contrast to the theory of limited nuclear war, which is the strategy that a small number of nuclear weapons can be used in a conflict in order to attain specific objectives.

The arms race grew out of this belief in mutual deterrence to maintain the stability necessary to avoid another world war. Neither superpower wanted the other to gain an advantage. If one perceived that the other was increasing its arsenal or improving technology, catching up was imperative. To maintain global security and deter nuclear war, the superpowers felt that they must maintain the balance of power.

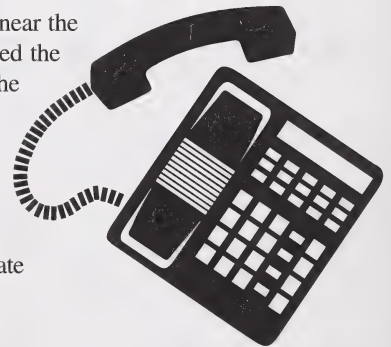
Underlying this was the assumption that the other superpower was always trying to gain the advantage. Therefore, constant vigilance, improvement, and deployment was essential.

Mutual deterrence, then, was the reason why neither superpower had used nuclear weapons since 1945. But there is a thin line between war and peace, and many experts point to a number of incidents where superpower leaders contemplated using the bomb. They also stress that there had been near mistakes when nuclear weapons had almost been launched. Such an accident would probably have caused an automatic retaliation, resulting in a war. The abstract nature of the concept of mutual deterrence, then, had not provided an optimum (best possible), concrete basis for lasting peace and cooperation.

Many world leaders, experts, and people involved in peace movements worked toward a more stable, less tenuous mechanism to maintain the balance of power, create lasting peace, and avoid nuclear war. By 1955, Soviet leader Krushchev began his policy of peaceful coexistence, when he spoke of the need for the U.S.A. and the USSR to “exist together on the one planet.” The Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence along with some American actions, showed signs that the superpowers were willing to work toward a more common understanding.

The superpowers still found themselves in conflicts all over the world, but they avoided direct confrontation, which could have escalated into a nuclear war. By 1955 the first postwar summit between the superpowers took place. In 1959, Khrushchev visited the U.S.A.

The Cuban Missile Crisis brought the world near the abyss of nuclear war. President Kennedy used the dangerous policy of brinkmanship to force the Soviets to withdraw their nuclear weapons from Cuba. This frightening event began a period of “thawing” of the Cold War. A hotline was set up between the U.S.A. and the USSR – a direct telephone link between the two superpower leaders to be used to communicate in times of crisis.



3. Describe the characteristics of the Cold War in which the superpowers became involved.

4. What effect did MAD have on the Cold War?

5. a. Define the word *deterrent*.

b. What is *mutual deterrence* as it applies to the nuclear arms race and superpower relations?

6. What is meant by the term *arms race*?

7. Define the term *balance of power* in the context of the nuclear arms race.

8. How did the superpowers come to believe that the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, was important in maintaining the balance of power?

9. What is meant by *peaceful coexistence*?

10. How did the policy of brinkmanship change the way the superpowers confronted each other?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, then, the superpowers made some effort to ease the tensions of the Cold War.

As the 1960s unfolded, the term *peaceful coexistence* eventually was replaced with the term *détente*. *Détente* came to mean the reduction of military and political tension through economic and social cooperation. As part of this process, the superpowers entered into negotiations to control the production and proliferation of nuclear arms.

Disarmament: the reduction or elimination by a nation of its weapons systems

Arms control: efforts to limit the size, power, and spread of weapons systems, especially nuclear arms

Verification: the process of determining, through means of inspection or intelligence gathering, whether an opponent is complying with arms control agreements

Although the terms are often used interchangeably, it is important to distinguish between **arms control** and **disarmament**.

- Disarmament means the reduction or elimination by a nation of its weapons systems. Unlike arms control, the concept of disarmament is an ideal based on the view that weapons cause wars, and that the elimination of weapons will in itself remove the main causes of conflict. Many people also believe that by disarming, individual nations will no longer perceive arms as necessary for their security. Whereas arms control is seen as a means of limiting and controlling existing weapons systems in order to bring about future improvement, disarmament is usually seen as an end in itself. In other words, the act of disarmament is seen as creating a new situation in which the potential for international conflict is eliminated.
- Arms control means the process by which the development, production, and deployment of weapons systems and military forces are kept within defined limits according to agreements between states. Such agreements usually include arrangements for **verification** – continuing consultation and measures to ensure that no state's security is reduced. The concept of arms control is not based on the view that weapons and military forces in themselves are a cause of war and does not assume that arms control agreements will, in themselves, eliminate the potential for conflict.

Arms control improves security by placing controls and limits on the process of deterrence, thus increasing the chances of agreements in other areas, which will in turn reduce the risk of international conflict. Arms control seeks to steer the military system into safer and less expensive channels – not to abolish it – accepting that states will continue to give priority to their own security and to base it on efforts to maintain their own self-defence within a balance of power situation.

Part of an arms control program may be a freeze – an agreement to cease production and deployment of specified weapons.¹

The superpowers signed a number of arms-control agreements, some of which were multilateral, in that they involved a large number of countries. Some were bilateral between the superpowers themselves. Here is a list:

- **Partial Test Ban Treaty, 1963:** signed by the U.S.A., the USSR, and Britain
 - Parties agreed to stop testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.
 - Parties agreed to test only underground. (This greatly reduces radioactive fallout.)
 - This treaty was not signed by China or France; both continue to test in the atmosphere.

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SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative): a program announced by President Reagan in 1985 to provide active defence against nuclear attack by destroying missiles from satellites in space – dubbed “Star Wars” by the press

ABM (Antiballistic Missile System): a system of radar and defensive missiles that detects and destroys incoming offensive weapons – nuclear and nonnuclear

ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile): a ballistic missile with a range of 6400 km or more. Modern ICBMs have a range of up to 14 500 km and need about thirty minutes to reach their targets.

SLBM (submarine-launched ballistic missile): a nuclear missile that can be launched at sea

SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks): a long series of negotiations (1969–1979) between the superpowers to limit the arms buildup

SALT I was signed in 1972 and provided a plan for a five-year period of limited nuclear weapons production and development; **SALT II** was accepted by the USSR but stalled by the U.S. Senate.

Pershing missile: a type of U.S. ballistic missile. It can be a short- or medium-range missile.

- **Outer Space Treaty, 1967:** signed by over sixty countries
 - This treaty banned sending nuclear weapons into space.
 - Soviets argued that Reagan’s **SDI** (Strategic Defense Initiative) program violated this treaty.
- **Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, 1968:** signed by over ninety countries
 - All pledged to reduce the spread of nuclear weapons by refusing to exchange nuclear technology.
 - This plan was designed to reduce the danger of a nuclear war. The danger would grow if the number of nuclear weapons was allowed to increase.
 - Many countries who were about to become members of the “Nuclear Club” refused to sign.
 - The U.S.A., the USSR, and France continued to sell nuclear materials that could be used to make weapons to countries like Brazil, Argentina, and South Africa.
- **Seabed Treaty, 1971:** signed by forty countries
 - Signatories agreed not to place nuclear weapons on the seabed beyond a country’s twenty-kilometre limit.
- **Antiballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty), 1972:** signed by U.S.A. and the USSR
 - This treaty allowed each superpower to deploy two weapons systems designed to defend against attacking nuclear missiles.
 - The ABM Protocol, which followed in 1974, reduced the number of permitted systems to one.
 - Both countries were also committed to move their ABM systems if sufficient notice was given.
- **SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), 1972:**
 - Superpowers had negotiated how to control the arms race in long-range nuclear missiles.
 - The agreement led to a limit on the number of **ICBMs**, **SLBMs**, and **ABMs** kept by each side.
 - The treaty was intended to help stop or slow the nuclear arms race.
- **SALT II:**
 - This treaty was to extend strategic arms control between the superpowers.
 - The treaty was never ratified. The U.S.A. would not sign, but it still abided by the weapons limitations of the treaty.
- **INF Talks (Intermediate Nuclear Forces), 1981:**
 - These talks were begun in Geneva to limit the number and type of missiles in Europe.
 - For some years Europeans had been concerned that their continent would become the major theatre of conflict in a nuclear war.
 - The talks were an attempt to stem the arms race in Europe and Asia.
 - The talks broke down in 1983 when the USSR withdrew to protest NATO’s deployment of cruise and **Pershing missiles**.



- **START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) Talks – 1982:**
 - These talks were begun in Geneva to reduce the number of long-range nuclear weapons held by the superpowers.
 - They were a continuation of the SALT talks.
- **Geneva Arms Talks** on all categories of ballistic missiles and on the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative – 1985:
 - The aim was to achieve reduction in all categories of nuclear weapons.

With further easing of tensions between the superpowers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, dialogue and arms reduction agreements have continued.

Now do the following:

11. Briefly distinguish between the terms *disarmament* and *arms control*.

12. Define the following terms:

- ABM

- ICBM

- SLBM

- Cruise missile

13. Complete the chart that follows concerning arms control treaties throughout the last three decades. List the multilateral (involving or affecting many parties) agreements first, followed by the bilateral (affecting equally two sides) agreements.

	Name and Year of Agreement	Main Provisions	Intended Effects	Actual Outcomes
Multilateral Agreements				
Bilateral Agreements				

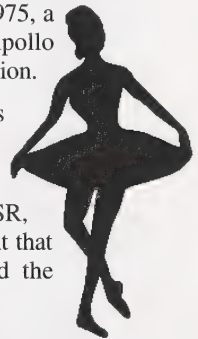
Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

Other Areas of Progress Toward Détente

Increased cooperation between the superpowers led to several summit meetings between the two countries' leaders to discuss a variety of issues.

Following is a list of other examples of the progress that was made on the road to détente:

- During several crises, such as the Yom Kippur War of 1973, the superpowers communicated with each other to avoid a direct confrontation.
- Trade agreements were reached, e.g., the sale of western wheat and technology to the USSR.
- Some cooperation was achieved in scientific areas. In 1975, a Soviet Soyuz spacecraft linked with an American Apollo spacecraft. The crews shook hands in a gesture of cooperation.
- Social and cultural contacts had been made in sports (such as the Canada Cup hockey series), music, ballet, and theatre; as well, tourism to the USSR and eastern Europe increased.
- In the Helsinki Accord of 1975, the U.S.A. and the USSR, along with thirty-three other nations, signed an agreement that recognized Europe's postwar boundaries and stressed the importance of more East-West cooperation.



Activity 2: Disintegration of Détente

During many arms-control negotiations, the superpowers were mutually suspicious. Many Americans were especially critical of the SALT talks. Such people claimed that American negotiators gave up too much – that the USSR gained an edge from the SALT treaty. Each side complained that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to verify whether arms control, and especially reduction, was actually occurring.

In 1979, when the USSR invaded Afghanistan, détente was further damaged. The U.S.A. boycotted the Moscow Olympic games and cut sales of grain and technology to the East. The Afghanistan invasion seriously strained superpower relations and increased tension. The Carter administration was also very critical of human rights violations in the USSR, which drove the wedge between the East and West even further.

President Reagan began a rearmament program to balance the superiority that Americans perceived the Soviets as having gained over the previous three decades. The USSR walked out of the INF talks after more nuclear weapons were deployed in western Europe. It appeared that the world was heading toward a new Cold War.

The emergence of Mikhail Gorbachev as Soviet leader, brought an important change in this climate. His policy of *glasnost*, or “openness,” encouraged more East/West cooperation. Near the end of the Reagan administration, the two superpower leaders warmed to each other. They met in a series of arms control summits; Gorbachev visited the U.S.A. and Reagan went to the USSR. Both superpowers showed genuine interest in controlling the arms race. The world was again encouraged to see the possibility of détente.

Read the article entitled “The Thaw.” The reading discusses how former President Reagan’s Star Wars plan, or Strategic Defense Initiative, “threatened to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race.” It shows this through a chronological description of superpower summits between Gorbachev and Reagan. Use the reading to do the exercise that comes after it.

The Thaw

When U.S. President Ronald Reagan declared the Soviet Union an “evil empire” in 1983, his country was in the middle of the largest peacetime military build-up in history. In Reagan’s two terms as president, the U.S. spent \$2.4 trillion on its military.

The President’s concern for national security was expressed dramatically in his March 1983 Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars) speech. Reagan proposed building a space-based missile defence shield over the U.S. that would make offensive nuclear weapons obsolete. The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) threatened to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race. To compete, meant that vast amounts of money and manpower would have to be put into the Soviet military sector.

SDI runs against Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev’s primary objective of modernizing the Soviet economy. His main interest is *perestroika* (restructuring the economy). To carry out the changes, Gorbachev must reduce international tensions and minimize the possibility of a superpower confrontation that could lead to nuclear war. If the threat to the Soviet Union is reduced, he can begin solving domestic problems by cutting Soviet military forces and transferring the resources to civilian uses.

To achieve these aims, Gorbachev made improving Soviet-American relations a priority. His most important

effort has been on superpower arms control. Eight months after becoming leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev met President Reagan for the first of four summit meetings.

At the November 1985 Geneva Summit, Gorbachev hoped to avoid a costly new arms race by persuading Reagan not to proceed with SDI. Gorbachev offered nuclear arms negotiations in exchange for a U.S. retreat on SDI. In contrast, Reagan linked arms control to progress on other issues in the superpower relationship. He stressed concerns for human rights in the Soviet Union; he talked about regional conflicts where Soviet involvement was seen as a threat to world peace (Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Nicaragua).

Gorbachev did signal that he was looking for a way to get Soviet troops out of Afghanistan. The leaders agreed to speed up arms talks already underway to cut offensive nuclear weapons. But it was not clear whether progress in strategic arms negotiations depended on getting limitations on SDI. Both sides had different views.

The summit ended with few areas of agreement. The most encouraging result was their agreement to hold summit meetings in 1986 and 1987.

In January 1986, Gorbachev seized the initiative by making a stunning arms control proposal. He suggested a 50% reduction on Soviet and American

strategic nuclear weapons by 1990, and a ban on SDI testing by the U.S. for up to eight years.

At the same time, all Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles in Europe would be eliminated. After 1990, more intermediate missiles would be reduced globally and tactical nuclear

The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) threatened to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race

weapons eliminated. The final phase would begin in 1995 and complete the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

At the October 1986 summit meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, Gorbachev proposed eliminating all Soviet and American nuclear forces if the U.S. accepted limits on SDI. Reagan would not accept limits on SDI and rejected the Soviet offer. His refusal to make concessions on SDI meant the possibility of achieving a deal to eliminate all nuclear arms was lost. Reaching separate agreements on different classes of weapons began to emerge as a realistic alternative.

The main issue dividing the superpowers at Reykjavik was Reagan's unshakeable commitment to SDI. He wouldn't accept limits on SDI's development, testing in space, or eventual deployment in space. On other arms control issues, Reagan and Gorbachev agreed to cut 50% of all strategic missiles in five years, and totally abolish them in 10 years. They also agreed that all intermediate-range missiles (Intermediate Nuclear Forces or INF) should be removed from Europe and those outside Europe negotiated. Soviet officials went so far as to hint an Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) deal might be possible without any U.S. limits on SDI.

In March 1987, Gorbachev announced he was prepared to conclude a separate

INF agreement without delay. To get a deal, Gorbachev dropped Soviet demands that British and French nuclear forces be included in an INF agreement. He agreed to the U.S. "zero-option" demand – no intermediate missiles in Europe – even though this meant larger Soviet reductions than U.S. reductions. When pressed to include shorter-range Soviet nuclear weapons which had no U.S. equivalent, Gorbachev agreed.

In all previous deals between the superpowers there had been one sticking point – verification. How can you be sure that the other side has destroyed the weapons it has promised to destroy? The Soviet Union had always refused to allow anyone to inspect its military installations to prove that the terms of an agreement had been met. Now, Mr. Gorbachev was willing to accept on-site verification.

The third summit was held in Washington D.C. in December 1987. The centrepiece of this meeting was the signing of the INF Treaty, the first superpower agreement to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. The INF Treaty provides for dismantling all Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range missiles. It sets up the most extensive weapons inspection system ever agreed to by the superpowers. Under the treaty, the U.S. will destroy 689 intermediate-range missiles with 282 launchers; the USSR will scrap 826 missiles with 608 launchers. The shorter-range missile reduction is 926 for the Soviets and 170 for the Americans.

The INF Treaty has improved the tone of the Soviet-American relationship. But the cuts are small when set against the nuclear stockpiles of the superpowers. The Treaty deals with less than 5% of the 63,000 nuclear weapons in existence, 1,000 of which could trigger a nuclear winter.

Because INF accounted for such a small proportion of superpower nuclear arms, a major effort was made at the Washington Summit to make progress on the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). START had been going on while the INF negotiations were taking place.

START is trying to get agreement to

reduce the strategic weapons most likely to be used by the superpowers in an all-out nuclear war. The main strategic weapons are Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs), and long-range bombers. These are the weapons either superpower could use in a sudden attack on the other side.

The START agreement basically was written prior to the Washington Summit. But there were important disagreements. SDI remained a central issue. Reagan insisted the U.S. could research and develop SDI as it chose. Gorbachev said if SDI was developed and tested outside the laboratory, the Soviet Union would not negotiate strategic missile reductions.

A MAN CALLED JANE

In 1897, Fred T. Jane published a book entitled *All the World's Fighting Ships*. The book became a best-seller and launched Jane's Publishing Company in England. *Jane's Defence Weekly*, a magazine that is avidly read in Moscow, Washington, and elsewhere, carries all the latest details on the world's weapons. The company also produces annuals, many of more than 1,000 pages, on various branches of the military -- *Jane's All the World's Aircraft*, *Jane's fighting Ships*, *Jane's Armour and Artillery*. These publications are regarded as the authority on many military topics. It's been said that without them there could be no serious arms reduction talks.

Unable to agree, the two leaders handed the strategic nuclear weapons issue back to their arms control negotiators. Working within the 50% reduction outlined at Reykjavik, the leaders told their negotiators to try to complete the treaty before June 1988.

Five months later, Gorbachev hosted Reagan in Moscow for their fourth summit meeting. The START agreement was not ready for signing in Moscow and little progress was made to finalize it. Serious differences remained on

important issues. Technical issues (monitoring mobile, land-based missiles, how to count the number of air-launched cruise missiles, and whether to include sea-launched cruise missiles) proved to be stumbling blocks.

Perhaps of most importance, Gorbachev again insisted on limitations on SDI, and Reagan again refused. In the style of the 1985 Geneva meeting, Reagan used his final summit to promote American views on human rights and religious freedom in the Soviet Union. No major agreements were reached in Moscow. The best the superpowers could do was sign minor agreements on prior notification of ballistic missile tests, fishing rights, and student exchanges.

Even without a START agreement, the INF Treaty created pressures for more arms agreements. Without INF in Europe, NATO and the Warsaw Pact realize conventional arms reductions might be needed. The Warsaw Pact had a large conventional arms advantage. If this advantage remained, NATO would build up its battlefield nuclear weapons and conventional forces to regain the security lost when INF were eliminated in Europe.

In his December 1988 speech to the United Nations, Gorbachev set the stage for further conventional and nuclear arms talks. He announced the Soviet Union over a two-year period would withdraw half of its 10,000 tanks in Eastern Europe, and pull back 240,000 soldiers from the Soviet Union's European frontier. These cuts include tactical nuclear weapons and 50,000 troops in Eastern Europe. An additional 260,000 Soviet troops will be cut in the far eastern and southern USSR.

After INF, the more difficult problems of conventional arms reductions and the longstanding problem of strategic weapons remain. These are the vital arms control issues facing U.S. President George Bush in 1989 and beyond.¹

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "The Thaw," by David Cook, May 1989, pp. 24-26. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

1. How much did the Reagan Administration spend on the American military?

2. What was the SDI program?

3. How did SDI run against Gorbachev’s plans for the Soviet economy?

4. How did the succession of summit meetings come about?

5. Describe the outcomes of the following summits and bilateral superpower arms-control negotiations by completing the chart that follows.

Date	Outcome
November 1985 (Geneva Summit)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
January 1986	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
October 1986 (Reykjavik, Iceland)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
March 1987	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

December 1987 (Washington, D.C.)	
June 1988	

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, came changes leading to democracy and the formation of a market economy in that country. This has ended much of the old animosity that used to exist between the United States and the Soviet Union. It has also been noted that this has brought an official end to the Cold War period and with it the end of the two-superpower world as it has existed since the post-World War II period.

Peace Breaks Out

During the last two years there have been some impressive arms cuts by the United States and the former Soviet Union

Just five years ago, political analysis could not have predicted the arms control achievements of 1990-91. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the revolutions in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, however, the world is suddenly a very different place.

Recent treaties reflect that over the last year and a half at least three important

arms control events have taken place. First, a treaty was signed in November 1990, which will reduce conventional (that is, non-nuclear, non-chemical) forces in Europe. Second, after nine years of negotiations, the main points of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) were finally accepted in July 1991, a virtual "disarmament race" was declared, with unilateral cuts announced

by both U.S. president George Bush and then Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

This era has been hailed as “the end of the Cold War” and even the beginning of a “New International Order.” Exactly what this new order will look like is not yet clear, but one thing is: there will be fewer weapons of mass destruction facing each other across the East-West divide.

Indeed, as thousands of weapons are slashed from the world arsenal, it is hard not to feel more secure. Many people, confident that disarmament is safely on its way, are turning their attention to other issues. However, while treaties such as START bring important and long-awaited arms cuts, they may not be quite as generous as they appear: far from bringing change, recent arms control agreements may be more simply a response to new political realities. Furthermore, when recent arms control agreements are looked at closely, both for what they achieve and for what they fail to achieve, it's clear that the arms race is still alive and running — albeit with a revised focus.

Arms control is complicated. The value of an arms control agreement can be judged solely on the basis of how many weapons are eliminated. According to the Harvard Nuclear Study Group, effective arms control can occur in at least four ways: reductions, freezes, force restructuring, and stabilizing measures. Any of these, if properly implemented, can make valuable contributions to the control of arms.

The Conventional Forces in Europe treaty (CFE) was signed by the 22 nations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in November 1990. The treaty deals only with weapons. According to its terms, deep cuts will be made in the numbers of tanks, artillery, and other equipment on both sides, in the region stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains.

When negotiations first began in 1974, the CFE treaty seemed vitally important. It was designed to reduce the threat of a sudden Soviet-led attack on

western Europe. However, by the time the CFE treaty was signed, the Warsaw Pact was nearly defunct, East Germany was already a part of NATO and Soviet troops were withdrawing from bases in East European countries.

The START treaty, signed in July 1991, has been heralded by the U.S. and the Soviet Union as a major breakthrough. The first treaty of its kind to actually reduce, not just limit, long-range strategic nuclear arms, START calls for the destruction of 6,000 Soviet and American nuclear warheads over seven years. Although the actual number of weapons left on each side is not quite equal, the “throw weight,” a complex calculation of the cumulative destructive force of nuclear warheads, is said to be roughly the same.

Many of the weapons to be destroyed are from land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), which, as the name suggests, are long-range nuclear weapons. ICBMs are fast weapons, a Soviet missile, for example, could reach North America in less than 30 minutes. During the last of the Cold War years, they were seen as an important part of superpower defence. The Soviet Union, a land power with an historical preference for heavy artillery, became particularly reliant upon ICBMs and has more of them than does the United States.

Many modern ICBMs have multiple-warheads, or multiple, independently-targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs). This means that a single missile is capable of hitting several targets. Such a missile is considered “destabilizing” because it becomes an inviting first-strike target for enemies: just one hit could remove several powerful warheads. START brought about substantial reductions in MIRVed ICBMs, especially in the Soviet Union.

START has been called “one of the last children of the Cold War,” like the CFE, the idea for the treaty is the product of a different era. When talks began in Geneva in 1982, the president of the

United States was Ronald Reagan, a man who described the Soviet Union as "the evil empire." During almost a decade of talks, START was plagued with setbacks and disputes. But last summer, in order to open the way for the much-awaited Moscow superpower summit, both sides sat down to iron out the final technical disagreements.

In terms of reducing the real size or strength of long-range nuclear arsenals, START achieves little. The weapons to be reduced, which account for a mere 20 percent of the total, are mainly older systems. START's end result will be slightly smaller but considerably more capable strategic arsenals on both sides. What is nevertheless remarkable about the treaty is the advances it makes in verification procedures.

Verification is the process of making sure that after an accord is signed, its terms are met; has the other side really destroyed the weapons it promised to destroy? Recently, greater trust and more sophisticated technology have made high level verification possible.

START gives an impressive framework for verification. This includes electronic tags on mobile missiles that can be tracked by satellites, on-site inspections of missile production sites and installations, and exchange of data on numbers, reconnaissance satellites and radar, among other things.

START was officially signed by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev during the fifth, and final, superpower summit, held in Moscow in July 1991. Fittingly, they signed the document with pens made from recycled metal recovered from scrapped nuclear missiles.

The disarmament race began at the end of September 1991, when President Bush announced surprise cuts to American forces. He said the United States would:

- get rid of all ground-launched, short-range nuclear weapons,
- withdraw and stockpile all tactical nuclear weapons (these

include nuclear-tipped cruise missiles) from U.S. naval vessels,

- remove strategic bombers from a state of high alert,
- and, cancel plans to base ten-warheaded MX missiles on railcars and Midgetman missiles on trucks.

Mr. Bush encouraged the Soviets to match the U.S. by getting rid of their own mobile missiles. As well, he called for discussion on the destruction of all land-based MIRVed missiles. The icing on the cake was his invitation to the Soviets to join the United States in research on a scaled-down Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), more popularly known as Stars Wars.

Mr. Bush's proposed cuts sound generous. In fact, he was aiming at two specific categories of nuclear weapons: short-range tactical weapons and land-based MIRVed ICBMs. Not surprisingly, these are the areas where Soviet strength is greatest. The U.S. advantage, submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), remained untouched by the U.S. president's proposals.

Days later, then President Gorbachev responded with his own cuts and proposals. He followed the U.S. in scrapping tactical nuclear weapons from land and sea, and in taking strategic bombers off alert status. He didn't offer to destroy his mobile missiles, but he did promise to keep them stationary. Then, as if in a high stakes poker game, he raised Mr. Bush by proposing talks to reduce by 50% the strategic weapons remaining after START is ratified. (He scrapped an extra one thousand warheads on his own as a good example.) As well, in keeping with Soviet tradition, he declared a one-year halt on nuclear testing and urged other nuclear powers to do the same.

Taken alone, the arms cuts and treaties of the last year and a half seem almost unbelievable. But these achievements should not be viewed out of context. The two superpower world

has disintegrated and along with it, so have old military strategies. But the arms race, in its own way, continues.

No further concessions have been made or are likely to be made on the U.S. Trident submarine. A single Trident submarine, bristling with up to 192 nuclear warheads, could destroy the Soviet Union. The ultra-expensive B-2 Stealth bomber (at \$835 million per plane) has also been given the go-ahead,

despite the fact that it is designed for use against the Soviet Union, which no longer exists. Finally, there will be further development, possibly even with Superpower collaboration, on a modified SDI, which will cost Americans an estimated \$4.6 billion this year alone.

As a U.S. official remarked in September, "This is not disarmament by any means."¹

The possibility of a nuclear war horrifies everyone. Yet the superpowers led many other countries in a continuous arms race. Many people cannot understand why the superpowers found it necessary to have the capability to destroy the entire world many times over. The insanity of the arms race motivated many people to join disarmament movements; still many other people believed that the West had to maintain equality in destructive potential as a deterrent to the Soviet Union. Even though the Soviet Union has broken up, there are still concerns about who controls its nuclear weapons. If these weapons fall into the wrong hands, there could be a potentially dangerous situation. Also there is a danger that unemployed Soviet nuclear scientists and technicians could find work in countries with unpredictable leaders which also poses threats to global peace.

Although the arms race between the superpowers has changed, other possible paths to nuclear war can be identified:

Path 1: Nuclear War Through Proliferation

It must be recognized that many First World countries like France, Second World countries like China, and Third World countries like India, have the bomb, so a regional conflict could escalate to nuclear war. There is always the possibility as well that the Third World will eventually tire of the huge gap between rich and poor nations and resort to nuclear strike.

Path 2: Nuclear Terrorism

Many scientists agree that nuclear weapons technology is not difficult to reproduce on a small scale. Many already hypothesize that terrorists have the capability to use nuclear weapons. Such terrorists could hold governments for ransom or intentionally start a total nuclear war.

Small wonder that millions of people the world over are forming and joining disarmament movements. Organizations in the West such as Operation Dismantle, Project Ploughshares, and Greenpeace, and similar movements in the East, are pressuring governments to disarm and educating the public to the dangers of nuclear arms.

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Peace Breaks Out," by Alison Mutluk, February 1992, pp. 27-29. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Nuclear-free zone: a geographic area that the inhabitants designate to remain free of nuclear weapons in every respect

Many areas of the world have voted to become **nuclear-free zones**. A nuclear-free zone is any well-defined geographical area, regardless of size, in which no nuclear weapons shall be produced, transported, stored, processed, disposed of, or detonated. Neither shall any facility, equipment, supply, or substance for their production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal, or detonation be permitted within its borders.



These nuclear-free zones are an attempt to begin the process of disarmament by exerting grassroots pressure – from the people up to the government.

6. Identify two possible paths to nuclear war.

7. From identifying these paths, what conclusion can you draw about the arms race and arms control?

8. What are nuclear-free zones?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

Activity 3: Justice and Human Rights

Global cooperation toward arms control is necessary for the security of the world, but other extremely urgent problems demand solutions as well.

Human rights violations have long plagued the world. In the twentieth century some unbelievable suffering has been inflicted by some groups of human beings on others. The Jewish Holocaust was one of the most horrifying of all.

Imprisonment, persecution, and torture continue today. Many countries have been accused of human rights violations. Here are a few examples:

- The USSR's treatment of political dissidents and **refusniks** has been severely criticized by many nations, including the U.S.A.
- Many Central American governments, such as that in El Salvador, use shadowy death squads, which arrest people in the middle of the night. Most of the time, the people are never seen again. In the early 1980s it is believed that 13 000 people were killed each year in El Salvador by terrorists and by government.
- The former military government in Argentina engaged in the "Dirty War" against Argentines who were labelled subversive. Often these people had little to do with politics. They, too, simply disappeared. Amnesty International estimated that 4 000 political prisoners were held without trial in Argentina. Another 6 000 to 15 000 people simply disappeared. The new democratic government in Argentina has pledged to punish those responsible for these human rights abuses.
- Israel has been chastised by much of the world community for alleged abuses of Palestinian human rights.

These and other examples of human rights have caused several groups to fight for the rights of the people. Among them is the United Nations.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

In December 1948 the UN General Assembly adopted the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. Some of the most important rights and freedoms listed in the Declaration are these:

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
- Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.

Human rights: fundamental rights, such as freedom of movement and equality of opportunity, which are accepted as belonging to every human being, irrespective of race, colour, religion, or political beliefs

Refusniks: a Soviet Jew who has been refused permission to emigrate

Universal Declaration of Human Rights: a UN document, adopted in 1948, which spells out and vows to uphold those rights and freedoms thought to be inherent to every person

- No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
- No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.
- Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

Every day people somewhere in the world are arrested for holding a belief unpopular with the government, practising a minority religion, or for simply being in the wrong place. The United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is an ideal, but it has no real teeth. Many countries simply disregard it.

1. What are human rights?

2. Name two countries that have been accused of human rights abuses.

3. What is the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*?

4. Describe three rights from the abridged list taken from the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 3.

Amnesty International

Amnesty International (AI): an international organization that works for the preservation of human rights

Few organizations have fought so bravely and successfully for human rights as **Amnesty International**. **AI**, a humanitarian, nonprofit organization, has worked all over the world to achieve its primary objective: ultimately to stop governments from imprisoning and mistreating prisoners of conscience, prisoners of religion, and innocent people. Here are the two principal methods that Amnesty International uses:

- It publicizes specific stories of real people who are experiencing, or have experienced, loss of their human rights at the hand of a repressive regime. No government likes to be known as oppressive and brutal. This kind of publicity gains the release of many political prisoners.
- It targets specific imprisoned individuals monthly so that AI members all over the world can write letters to the governments that have arrested these individuals. AI urges its members to write letters on behalf of target prisoners. They instruct members to demand the release of these prisoners politely but firmly. This has been a very successful method.

AI, in constant need of money, receives funding almost exclusively from private donors. Members donate membership fees, and many people simply send in donations. Following the success of *Live Aid*, the worldwide fund-raising concert for Ethiopia, a concert called *Conspiracy of Hope* was televised in many countries, and a subsequent record album was released. The musicians and performers involved in the project donated their time to publicize the need for the world to cooperate to protect human rights in all nations.

In 1977, Amnesty International won the Nobel Peace Prize for its struggle for worldwide human rights. Its work continues.

5. a. Using the dictionary or another resource, define the word *amnesty*.

b. Why is “Amnesty International” an appropriate name for the organization that bears it?

6. From the partial list of human rights given in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, identify three rights for which Amnesty International works.

7. What is AI’s major goal?

8. What two methods does AI use?

9. Why can it be said that Amnesty International is an organization of which the concerns and aims are based on “humanitarian” considerations?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 3.

In 1975, thirty-five communist and noncommunist nations, including the superpowers, met in Helsinki to establish a program to protect human rights, including freedom of speech, religion, and movement all over the world.

A program was established to do the following:

- reunify separated families
- guarantee freedom to marry between citizens of different states
- allow freedom of travel and tourism
- protect the circulation of information
- promote cultural cooperation

The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation is a cornerstone in the continuing process to seek global cooperation in protecting human rights.

10. Who signed the **Helsinki Accord**?

11. What was agreed upon at Helsinki regarding human rights?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 3.

***Helsinki Accord:** an agreement reached at a conference held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1975, that marked the height of détente. The conference dealt with issues left unresolved by the Potsdam Conference of 1945. The Soviets gained formal recognition of east European boundaries, while the U.S.A. gained concessions on human rights.*

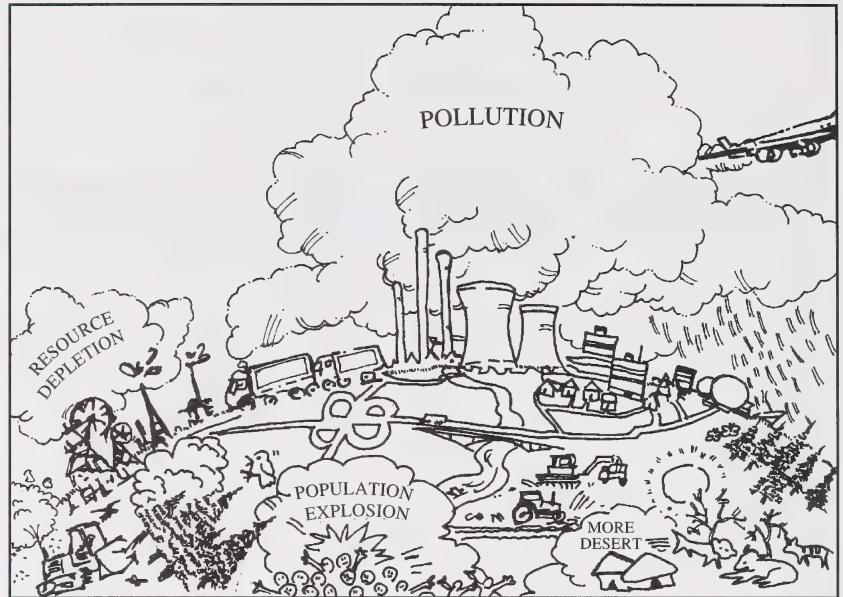
The International Covenants on Human Rights were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1966. The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights which came into force in January 1976 contains provisions concerning such areas as working conditions, trade unions, social security, protection of the family, and standards of living and health. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which came into force in March 1976, establishes standards concerning freedom of movement and equality before the law. There were 125 countries or states that had acceded to or ratified these covenants by 1994, but abuses of human rights still occur in many countries around the world.

12. In what areas does the United Nations Covenant on Human Rights attempt to establish standards?

13. What problems have limited the success of the Covenant?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 3.

Activity 4: The Environment



There is no doubting the urgency to solve menacing global problems such as the nuclear arms race and abuses of human rights. However, a more basic, but no less urgent, threat to global survival comes from problems in the environment.

Ecosystem: the delicately balanced system of life-forms, land, water, and the atmosphere

Ecology: the science that studies how organisms interrelate with their environment



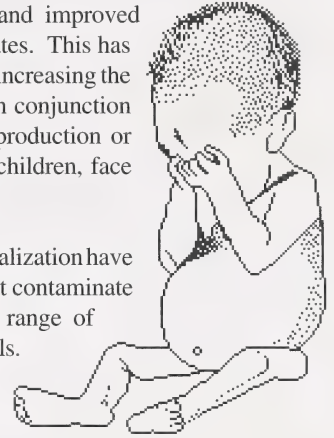
The delicate balance of life-forms, land, water, and the atmosphere is called the **ecosystem**. The study of how factors such as these are interconnected is called **ecology**. Ecologists have warned us for several decades that the world is threatened. The very advances that allowed humanity to progress to its present state have come back to haunt us.

Ecologists, environmentalists, and many other people are calling on all countries of the world to cooperate to save our planet from ecological destruction.

These people stress that we must all assume the global responsibility for solving the problems that threaten our very existence.

A Brief Summary of Ecological Problems and Disasters

- **Population explosion:** Medical science and improved health care have drastically reduced death rates. This has created more people who reproduce, thereby increasing the birthrate. If this increased birthrate exists in conjunction with food resources limited by poor food production or distribution, many people, including many children, face malnutrition and starvation.
- **Pollution:** Improved technology and industrialization have created by-products and chemical wastes that contaminate the earth, water, and air, creating a wide range of diseases that take their toll on people and animals. Acid rain, caused by toxic sulphur dioxide emissions from industrial smoke stacks, is a well-known form of atmosphere pollution.
- **Resource depletion:** The exhaustion of nonrenewable natural resources is a threat that must be confronted. Supplies of petroleum and coal (primary sources of energy) are dwindling and many other mineral resources are quickly being exhausted.
- **Urbanization:** More and more people are moving to cities from the country. This creates obvious pollution, sanitation, and health problems. As well, cities often take away fertile land for living space.
- **Destruction of land:** This phenomenon has three main causes:
 - climatic change
 - destruction of habitat (e.g., destruction of tree shelterbelts, which can cause wind erosion)
 - over-farming
- **Desertification:** By the year 2000 it is predicted that there will be 60% more desert than at present.
- **Deforestation:** The most serious problem at present is the ongoing destruction of the Amazon rain forests – often called the “earth’s lungs” because of the way they absorb carbon dioxide and emit oxygen. Deforestation can lead to desertification, and it reduces the earth’s supplies of trees, which help make oxygen. The process also destroys important plant and animal species.



Desertification: the process of fertile land becoming desert-like

- **Ozone layer depletion:** Scientists have found holes in the ozone layer above the Arctic and Antarctic. The ozone layer of the atmosphere filters out harmful ultraviolet rays, and depletion has already contributed to a higher incidence of cancer. The depletion is caused primarily by chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which break down the ozone. CFCs come from such things as styrofoam, solvents, refrigeration and air-conditioning, halon fire extinguisher systems, and aerosol propellants. At present, work is being done on an international level to ban production of CFCs.
- **Nuclear power accidents:** Nuclear accidents at Three Mile Island in the U.S.A. and Chernobyl in the Ukraine have produced serious radiation emissions, which in the USSR have caused deaths, radiation sickness, and birth defects.
- **Greenhouse effect:** This is a gradual global warming trend caused by the increased concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere created by the burning of fossil fuels. Effects will include warmer temperatures and more dry weather, which can be devastating to areas of world food production. The polar icecaps may also begin to melt, flooding coastal areas worldwide.
- **Food supply problems:** The world's food supply is threatened by such factors as the population explosion, pollution, acid rain, the greenhouse effect, land destruction, and many others.

Complete the following chart on major ecological problems of the world.

Problem	Cause	Effect
Population Explosion		
Pollution		
Resource Depletion		
Urbanization		
Destruction of Food		

Desertification		
Deforestation		
Ozone Layer Depletion		
Nuclear Power Accidents		
Greenhouse Effect		
Food Supply Problems		

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 4.

Many organizations are now working to create an atmosphere of environmental responsibility in an attempt to achieve international cooperation in order to solve these threats to the earth's survival.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

This section has examined a number of concepts that are important to life in the world today. To ensure that you understand them, fill in the blanks that follow.

1. A confrontation in which only a limited number of nuclear weapons were used could be called a _____

2. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy used the dangerous policy of _____ to force the USSR to back down.
3. When two or more nations compete in building up military superiority, they can be said to be involved in an _____.
4. The belief that the elimination of weapons will in itself remove the main causes of conflict is the basic philosophy behind _____.
5. In 1967 over sixty nations signed the _____ Treaty, banning nuclear weapons in space.
6. The SALT stands for _____.
7. The small, pilotless U.S. jet aircraft, capable of carrying nuclear warheads while flying at low altitudes so as to avoid radar detection is called the _____.
8. An agreement made between two nations is a _____ agreement.
9. The relaxation of tensions between the two superpowers was known as _____.
10. In 1975, the _____ Accord was signed by the superpowers and thirty-three other nations, in Finland.
11. The Soviet policy of openness during Gorbachev's leadership was known as _____.
12. Former President Reagan's proposed space-based nuclear missile shield over the U.S. is known as the _____.
13. A geographic area that declares itself to be unwilling to tolerate nuclear weaponry on its territory is called a _____.

14. Rights felt to belong to all people, simply by virtue of their humanity, are called _____.
15. In 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the _____ in order to protect these basic rights.
16. The organization that works to protect human rights by publicizing abuses of such rights is _____.
17. The process of fertile land becoming desert-like is called _____.
18. The ozone layer has been damaged principally by the production of chemical _____.
19. The greenhouse effect is caused principally by the increased concentration of _____ in the atmosphere.
20. The term *Cold War* is usually contrasted with _____.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Extra Help.

Enrichment

These days we are hearing a great deal about the environment. With the end of the Cold War, the destruction of our global ecosystem has become, in the minds of many, the chief source of concern for the future of life on earth as we know it.

The media is full of discussions of environmental issues. As an enrichment exercise, pick one environmental issue that especially interests you (e.g., acid rain, the greenhouse effect, the destruction of the ozone layer), research it in your local library, and using your own paper write a short report on what you discover.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Enrichment.

Conclusion

From this section, two major conclusions may be drawn:

- To deal with global problems of enormous magnitude, large-scale cooperation and understanding are being attempted in a number of regions.
- Desire for global peace, respect for human rights, and concern about the environment have emphasized the need for international cooperation and understanding.



ASSIGNMENT

There is no assignment for this section.

Global Peace and the Emergence of New States



For many years people wanted to see an end to the tension between East and West and the possibility of nuclear attack. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War eased these tensions and created new hope.

However, the world now has new concerns over who controls the nuclear weapons that have been stockpiled. Added to this, there is increasing religious, ethnic, and political fragmentation throughout the world. There are a growing number of conflicts within countries as opposed to those between countries. The United Nations has become involved in many of these trouble spots in attempts to establish peace and to provide humanitarian assistance to victims in these areas. Consideration must be given to whether or not the United Nations should be the world's police force and whether it can uphold, let alone expand, its role in maintaining global security.

In this section you will look at some of the changes that have occurred in terms of the world map since 1989 and the challenges the changes have created. Through your study of this section, you should come to understand the following:

- the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe
- the reunification of Germany
- the disintegration of states such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia
- the new challenges to global security and changes in peacekeeping roles by groups such as the United Nations

This section concludes with information about the final examinations you must write to get credit for this course.

Activity 1: The 1989 Revolutions in Eastern Europe



When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visited Great Britain, France, and Germany in 1989, he made clear his intentions to reduce East-West tensions in order to build new

trade links between his country and the West. He felt that if the Soviet Union was to modernize its economy, the country had to become more involved in the global economy. From 1987 on, Gorbachev had criticized Communist leaders in East Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia for not carrying out reforms. The Soviet Union was having problems of its own and peace was needed if the reforms that Gorbachev wanted were to succeed. Gorbachev did not want to get involved in the problems of Eastern Europe. As a result, in 1989, Gorbachev abandoned the Brezhnev Doctrine which would have called for the ideological and military control of the revolutionary elements in Eastern Europe. He stood by and watched as the Eastern European countries freed themselves one by one from communist domination. These dramatic series of events began in Poland.

Poland

Poland had been the first country subjected to communist dominion after World War II and it became the first to secure its freedom from communism. In April 1989 Solidarity leaders signed an accord with the Polish government allowing free and open elections and restoring Solidarity's legal status. The accord also called for a freely elected upper house of parliament to be reestablished. The June 4, 1989, election saw Solidarity candidates sweep 99 of the 100 upper house seats and take all of the lower house seats that they were able to contest. According to the accord, 35% of the lower house seats were open to Solidarity candidates. Many of the Communist candidates for the remaining seats did not obtain the 50% of votes required to give them their seats as voters wrote "NO" to the official candidates listed. This election upset led to the resignation of President Wojciech Jaruzelski as leader of the Polish Communist Party. On August 19, 1989, Solidarity official Tadeusz Mazowiecki was designated prime minister by Jaruzelski. Mazowiecki was the first noncommunist to hold this position since the postwar period.

Hungary

Communist control in Hungary steadily eroded in 1989 after it was announced that noncommunist political parties would be tolerated. In May a move was made to begin removing the barbed wire that separated Hungary from Austria with plans to have all 240 kilometres removed by the end of the year. This was symbolic of the opening of the Iron Curtain. On June 16, 1989, former Hungarian leader, Imre Nagy, who had defied Soviet domination in 1956 and was later murdered, was honoured with a hero's burial in Budapest's Hero Square. With the decline of communist popularity, a variety of independent liberal parties emerged. Karoly Grosz, Communist Party leader, lost much of his authority. With little public support and free elections promised for 1990, the Hungarian Communist Party disbanded on October 7, 1989, and reconstituted itself as the Hungarian Socialist Party. It would use democratic procedures to determine leadership and promised reforms to meet the changing needs of the Hungarian people.

East Germany

When Hungary began taking down the barbed wire that separated it from Austria, East Germans began to seek permission from the Hungarian embassy to make their way through Hungary to Austria and then on to West Germany. Some 6000 East Germans followed this route during the summer of 1989. By September, the East German government had tightened travel restrictions to stop the increasing numbers of East Germans attempting to emigrate to West Germany. East Germans then began to go to Prague as they were able to enter Czechoslovakia without East German travel documents. By October 1989 freedom trains were taking East Germans to the West German embassy in Prague from where they sought passage to West Germany. As the number of refugees continued to grow, demands for lifting the travel restrictions and allowing democratic reforms increased. Demonstrations in the major cities showed that support for this movement was growing. The Hungarian government also began to put pressure on the East German government. The East German government decided to allow some 30 000 East Germans to emigrate. They also changed the party leadership, replacing Erich Honecker, a hard-liner, with Egon Krenz on October 18. These moves did not stop the number of people trying to exit East Germany as the largest outpouring of East Germans since the Berlin Wall had been built continued. On November 4, 1989, over 500 000 demonstrators in East Berlin demanded democratic reform. This resulted in the entire East German cabinet resigning on November 7. On November 9 at midnight East German guards opened the Berlin Wall allowing East Berliners freedom to go to West Berlin. This sparked speculation about German reunification for the first time since the end of World War II.

Czechoslovakia



The hard-line Communist government in Czechoslovakia did not appear to be influenced by the changes occurring in other Eastern European countries. When 10 000 people demonstrated in Wenceslas Square on October 28, 1989, heavily armed police were called in to break up the crowd and temporary order was restored by Communist Party leader, Milos Jakes. Vaclav Havel led the opposition movement against the government. There was much dissent throughout the country and by

November 20 there were more than 200 000 demonstrators in the streets of Prague calling for a general strike and demanding free elections. By November 25 the Communist Party leaders gave in and resigned their positions as the number of demonstrators had grown to 350 000 people and they were being addressed by Alexander Dubcek, the leader who had been ousted by Soviet-led Warsaw Pact troops in the 1968 freedom movement. On November 27, 1989, the entire Czechoslovakian work force took part in a two-hour general strike. The demonstrators formed a group called the Civic Forum to create political opposition to the ruling Communist party. Negotiations between leaders of the two groups resulted in the resignation of Communist president Gustav Husak on December 10, 1989. Václav Havel became the country's new president as a result of elections on December 29 and Alexander Dubcek took over the office of premier, giving the old regime's two most vocal opponents control of the government.

Bulgaria

The events in Bulgaria that led to the removal of its communist leaders were similar to what had occurred in East Germany. In 1989 about 310 000 ethnic Turks fled Bulgaria and went to Turkey. In 1989 Bulgarian dissidents protested concerning the pollution of their environment; this led to criticism of other areas of government control. Bulgaria, much like the other Eastern European countries, had many economic woes. On November 10, 1989, Todor Zhivkov resigned as Communist Party leader and was replaced by Petar Mladenov who was soon forced by a newly formed Union of Democratic Forces (and 50 000 demonstrators) to relinquish absolute power and allow free elections. To show its concern for reform the Communist Party expelled its former leader, Todor Zhivkov, from the party.

Romania

The only Eastern European country to suffer a violent revolution in 1989 was Romania. Romania had been led by the Stalinist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu since 1965. On December 17, 1989, in the city of Timisoara, protesters took to the streets to demonstrate against the arrest of Reverend Toekes, the ethnic spokesperson for the two million Hungarians living in Romania. Ceausescu had his troops gun down the demonstrators. Some 4500 men, women, and children were reportedly killed and put into a mass grave. The two sides involved gave different reports of this event. During the week following this incident it became apparent that the Romanian people were no longer willing to be terrorized by Ceausescu and his special police force. In a December 25 coup Ceausescu and his wife Elena were taken hostage and later executed by firing squad. The Romanian people had not only been deprived of human rights for many years, they were also lacking in many of life's basic necessities. An election on May 20, 1990, saw Ion Iliescu become the new president of the country.

1. Make a time line to outline the events that were part of the 1989 revolutions that occurred in Eastern Europe. (Use your own paper.)

2. Why did the Soviet Union under Gorbachev's leadership not use military force to maintain the Communist leadership of these Eastern European countries during the 1989 revolutions?

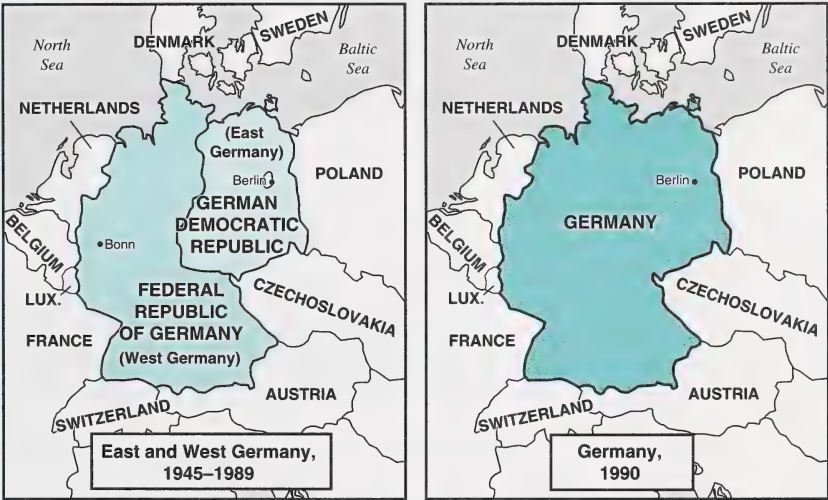
3. What could be some possible reasons for the violence that occurred in Romania, but that did not occur in the other Eastern European countries?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Activity 1.

Activity 2: Reunification of Germany

As you read in the previous activity, the opening of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, began speculation of a united Germany for the first time since the end of World War II. As the Berlin Wall went down, fears about a united Germany emerged. France still had its age-old concerns about the strength of a united Germany. What role a united Germany would have in European security was of concern to the Soviet Union. It did not want to see East Germany uniting with West Germany and becoming part of NATO.

In February 1990 and again in July 1990 the West German chancellor, Helmut Kohl met with Soviet leader Gorbachev to discuss German reunification. West Germany would need to provide financial support to rebuild East Germany. Gorbachev finally agreed to a united Germany with membership in NATO when West Germany offered an aid package to the Soviet Union. Kohl also promised that Germany would never go to war against the rest of Europe. The economic union of East and West Germany took place on July 1, 1990. West German goods filled East German stores and this availability of goods was well received by the East Germans. There was concern about potential inflation and rising unemployment as the former East German state factories, unable to compete with Western technology, faced closure. Decades of central planning had resulted in a stagnant economy in the eastern region.



On October 2, 1990, East and West Germany were politically reunited and Helmut Kohl was elected leader of the newly unified Germany on December 2, 1990. German citizens will be challenged as they try to create some measure of equity in the living standards throughout the country.

1. Why were some European leaders concerned about German reunification?
-
-
-
-
-

2. What concerns did the Soviet Union have about German reunification?

3. What are some of the economic problems that Germany must deal with?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Activity 2.

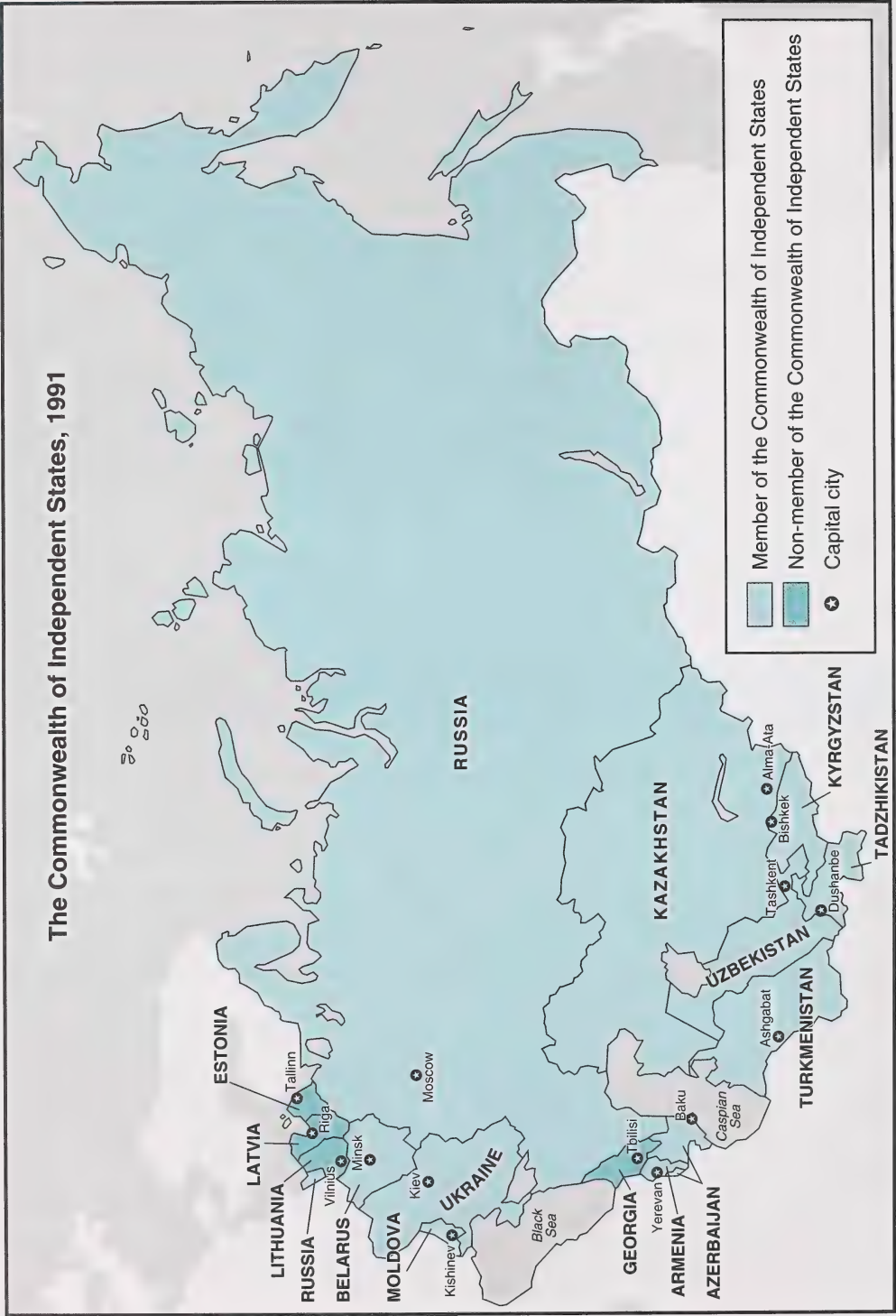
Activity 3: Disintegration of States

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

The revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989 had an effect on the Soviet Union. In 1990 Comecon (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), which regulated trade within the Communist bloc, ceased to exist. The Warsaw Pact was disbanded in 1991 as the Eastern European countries no longer wanted any system that tied them to the Soviet Union as they sought to develop trade ties with Western Europe. By this time the effects of *glasnost* and *perestroika* could be seen within Soviet society. As dramatic as the Gorbachev reforms had been, the political system of the Soviet Union was to see more changes. The nation was undergoing profound changes as it entered the 1990s. Almost all aspects of Soviet life changed as never before as the Communist Party gave up its constitutional right to power. *Glasnost* provided the people with more power and reasons to demand more changes and improvements in social conditions. This new openness also allowed the country’s cultural groups the opportunity to challenge the central government in Moscow for more control over their own cultural and economic affairs. *Perestroika* brought on a movement to end central planning and to move the country towards a market economy. The political system had to adapt to changing

circumstances and to new ideas. Communist Party members could not agree on the future of their party. Some felt that the change to give up its right to one-party rule did not go far enough. They felt more changes were needed and that the Communist Party had to become a democratic political party that competed against other political parties. Other Communists believed that even if the party gave up its control over the Soviet economy, it could still continue to lead the government and to keep its prestigious role in Soviet society. Still other Communist Party members were not pleased with the changes at all and were convinced that the party was needed to keep order and control throughout the country. It was a group of these Communists who were not in favour of more changes to the Soviet system who were behind the August 1991 coup. A group of eight men led by Gorbachev's vice president, Gennady Yanayev, formed the Extraordinary State Committee and declared a state of emergency in the country. Gorbachev was placed under house arrest, and Boris Yeltsin, newly elected president of the Russian Republic, was ordered arrested. The main goals of the Extraordinary State Committee were to increase food production, improve housing, expand industrial production, and to maintain central control over the entire country. This overthrow of the Gorbachev government lasted three days and then its leaders were arrested and Gorbachev was returned to power. This failed attempt unleashed a series of events that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union's empire.

On January 1, 1992, the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist. The disintegration of the former superpower came as fifteen new nations were created. The Soviet republics had seen the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe free themselves and they also wanted this independence. Gorbachev had wanted a reformed Soviet Union with greater powers for the republics, but one that still had a strong central government to control foreign affairs, the army, and the police, and to maintain a national currency. The republics rejected his plans. In September 1991 the three Baltic states – Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia – were granted independence. Of the twelve remaining republics, ten agreed on a transitional government that would carry them into a new confederation with some sort of economic cooperation. By October this agreement was in danger of falling apart. In a December 1991 referendum, Ukrainian voters overwhelmingly supported full independence. Without the Ukraine, the Soviet Union's second wealthiest republic, there was no hope for Gorbachev's planned new federation. On December 8, 1991, the Ukraine with Russia and Byelorussia formed a Commonwealth of Independent States. This new union would have no central government, there would be no unified foreign policy, and there would be no singular control over police, military, and nuclear weapons. They did agree to keep the ruble as their currency, harmonize their banking systems, and to guarantee minority rights. The union of these three, mainly Slavic, republics left out the Central Asian Muslim republics and Kazakhstan, which had a large Russian population and a large stockpile of long-range nuclear weapons. This could have led to a dangerous division of the Soviet Union along ethnic and religious lines. Mr. Yeltsin, however, assured these republics that they were welcome to join the commonwealth and by mid-December Kazakhstan and the four Central Asian republics – Kirizia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzhikistan – declared their desire to join. Armenia, too, decided to join. Later in December a meeting was held in Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, at which Moldova and Azerbaijan joined. It was only Georgia and the three Baltic states that remained outside the Commonwealth.



1. What were some of the causes for the breakup of the Soviet Union?

2. What were some of the western nations’ concerns about the breakup of the Soviet Union?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Activity 3.

Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia was freed from Communist control in the 1989 Revolutions that occurred in Eastern Europe. On January 1, 1989, the country was split into two as the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic were officially formed. Read the following article for more information on the split and then answer the questions that follow.

Czechoslovakia

Divorces are seldom simple; the splitting of Czechoslovakia into two independent nations on 1 January is no exception. The two countries managed to avoid the violence of Yugoslavia's break-up but there are many tangles to be sorted out.

The split came about as a result of minority Slovaks wanting more control over affairs in their eastern half of Czechoslovakia. However, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus was not in favour of half measures. His ultimatum to the Slovaks was clear: stay part of Czechoslovakia with no special deals or make a complete break. Slovakia's Premier Vladimir Meciar chose to go-it-alone.

Economically, the 10.3 million people of the new Czech Republic are moving rapidly towards a free market economy. The country enjoys an unemployment rate of only 4.0%. Meanwhile, Slovakia and its 5.4 million people have chosen a slower pace of reform. With an unemployment rate of 12% Slovakia has a weaker economy and faces more difficulties in the future. It is burdened with out of date heavy industry and arms plants for whose products there is now little demand. Unemployment is expected to double to 25% in the short term.

Half a million people are caught up in the split; they are Czechs living in

Slovakia and vice versa. Often married to members of the other group these people will have to choose which citizenship to take. Just before the split, 3,000 Slovaks a day were applying for Czech citizenship. There were almost no Czechs seeking Slovakian passports.

The Hungarian minority in Slovakia is concerned about persecution. Already Hungarian place names and signs have been ripped down. There have been reports of government crack-downs on Gypsies living in both republics. This is an ugly echo of intolerance from half a century ago. Between 1939 and 1945 Slovakia had a brush with independence as a client state of Hitler's Nazi Germany. During that period, tens of thousands of Jews and Gypsies were rounded up and sent to the death camps.

Bureaucrats are trying to work out the complicated business of dividing up the assets of the 74-year-old Czechoslovakian republic. Slovakia has been promised 20 of the Czechoslovakian air force's MIG-29 fighters, but what use are they when the only air bases they can use are in the Czech Republic? And, how can Slovakia gain access to its share of the old central bank's assets when most of them are buildings in another country?

The two governments in Prague, the capital of the Czech republic, and Bratislava, Slovakia's capital, have a lot to do before the divorce is final.¹



¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Czechoslovakia," February 1993, p. 4. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

3. Why did the Slovaks decide to separate from the Czech republic?

4. What were some of the problems that the two governments needed to work out before splitting up the country?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Activity 3.

Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia was the only Eastern European country to establish a Communist government without Soviet assistance. Josip Broz, commonly referred to as Tito, led a group of Communist partisans, who with British support, had fought to expel the Nazis from Yugoslavia. In his rule of Yugoslavia after the end of World War II, Tito blended communism with nationalism. Because Tito maintained independence from Stalin, Yugoslavia was expelled from Cominform on June 28, 1948. The Soviet Union then used a variety of economic, political, military, and diplomatic pressures to bring Yugoslavia back into the Soviet fold; but all attempts failed. Tito continued to rule the country with little opposition until his death in 1980. After this the country slowly started to break up. The Revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the breaking up of the Soviet Union added to the movement for the break-up of Yugoslavia.

Ethnic Cleansing

Feuds are usually family affairs, and usually vicious. The Balkans are noted for family feuds, but there the feuding goes further, extending to regions, and entire states.

This seems strange, because nearly all Balkan peoples are from one branch or another of the southern Slavic race. There is an explanation for it, though, which goes back centuries. The big Slavic migration to the Balkans took place in the sixth and seventh centuries. During the Middle Ages, the Slavs were split into two camps, becoming, as historian Rebecca West said, as different “as the panther and the lynx.”

The Croats and Slovenes of the north came under Austrian and Hungarian domination. They took to the Catholic religion and the Latin alphabet. The Serbs of the south were ruled by Eastern Roman and then Turkish Ottoman empires. Some of them became Orthodox Christians, others Muslims, and all used the Cyrillic alphabet.

Bitter squabbles among these ethnic and religious groups have gone on ever since. After World War I, the new country of Yugoslavia was patched together in an attempt to unify the south Slavs. After the Second World War, the firm hand of the communist dictator Josip Broz Tito kept the uneasy alliance working until his death in 1980. From then on, Yugoslavia began to fall apart, and its end was hastened by the

revolutions of Eastern Europe and the break-up of the Soviet Union.

In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia. The Serbs were willing to let Slovenia go because there is only a small Serb minority there. Croatia is different. With 600,000 Serbs living inside its borders, there was house-to-house fighting last winter which cost as many as 10,000 lives and produced tens of thousands of refugees. There is an uneasy truce there now as United Nations peacekeepers replace the warring Serbs and Croats.

Meanwhile, the headlines have shifted to Bosnia-Herzegovina where even more devastating events are taking place. This former Yugoslav republic also proclaimed its independence early this year. Its population is a mosaic of about 31% Serbian Christians, 40% Muslim Slavs, and 17% Croats. Leaders agreed the new state would be a union of nationalities in which power would be shared.

Last April, that dream was shattered. Bosnian Serbs began military operations aimed largely at the Muslims in the 4.2 million population. The Serbs, aided and armed by the former Yugoslav federal forces, seized control of about two thirds of Bosnian territory, and Croats hold the other third. The internationally recognized, Muslim-led government, clings only to Sarajevo, the capital, and a few other besieged towns.¹

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, “Ethnic Cleansing,” September 1992, p. 5. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

In elections held in December 1992 Slobodan Milosevic, the one who many blame for much of the bloodshed in Bosnia, was re-elected president of Serbia. His plans have been to create a greater Serbia ever since the former Yugoslavia began to fall apart. So far the economic sanctions Western governments have applied against Serbia have not worked to establish peace. As the conflict continues, there are fears that it may spread to neighbouring countries. NATO, the United Nations, and the European Community have all tried to keep peace in this area, but the peace efforts have not met with success. NATO and the United Nations are not certain what action to take and have no ready solutions to end the carnage. A more detailed look at the role of peacekeepers will be examined in the next activity.

5. What is the major cause of the fighting in the former Yugoslavia?

6. How effective have the economic sanctions against Serbia been in promoting peace?

7. What action do you think NATO and the United Nations should take in an effort to establish an end to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Peacekeeping Roles

The Cold War is now over but the world is experiencing increased ethnic, religious, and political fragmentation. This has resulted in cases of genocide, massive abuses of human rights, starvation, aggression, and forced movements of people. Situations like those in Somalia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina have received international attention. The world community has to decide how to respond to this massive human suffering. Do we have an obligation to intervene on humanitarian grounds? Should the United Nations be the world's humanitarian police force?

When the Security Council of the United Nations views events as a threat to international peace and security, it sees intervention in these events as justifiable. This was the case in the Gulf War in 1991. The action taken against Iraq had some people thinking a new era was beginning in which political authorities who abused populations would face dire consequences.

However, the contingent of UN forces that went into Somalia in 1992 to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid were unable to accomplish their task because factional warfare made the environment too chaotic to deliver relief. The international community had wanted to provide aid to alleviate the mass starvation brought about by the collapse of government in 1991, civil war, and drought. The United Nations attempted to bring the Somali clans and factions to some sort of an agreement. In trying to carry out the disarmament of the factions, UN troops came under attack by the Somali National Alliance. UN peacekeepers were killed in different attacks and eventually the Americans decided to pull out of this mission. This made peacekeepers aware of the difficulties of operating in an area that was not yet ready for peace. This has led to more consideration about what involvement to take in Bosnia.

As the number of situations like these increase, decisions have to be made concerning available resources and the growing demand for military intervention and humanitarian action. Money and other resources will need to be channelled to where it can make the most difference and ease as much suffering as possible. In making these decisions it will be important to consider:

- those who can and must be helped
- those who cannot be helped
- those who need no help

Read the following article and then answer the questions that come after.

Ordeal in Bosnia

*Developing a workable peace plan
that won't escalate the slaughter in the Balkans
has proven a near impossible task for the world community*

In June 1991 war came to the Balkans when the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav army attacked the breakaway state of Slovenia. Within months, fighting spread to the neighbouring, newly independent state of Croatia. By the spring of 1992, war started in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Bosnian Muslims came under attack from Serbs and Croats. After two years of devastating battles all sides say they want to stop the war but have been unable to agree on how to do that.

So, what could be done now? This question has haunted the international community from the beginning of the fighting.

A ceasefire enforced by a screen of United Nations peacekeepers was the first approach tried. But the ceasefires collapsed as soon as they were agreed upon and the peacekeeping forces were powerless to make the opposing forces disengage. Indeed, they had to depend on the combatants' cooperation to get badly needed food and supplies into cities, such as Sarajevo and Gorazde, where Muslim populations were under siege. Without question, the peacekeepers' presence and effort saved thousands of lives but it offered no possibility of creating peace.

From the outset of war the UN had imposed economic sanctions on the region, especially upon Serbia. By cutting off war supplies, such as guns, ammunition, oil, gasoline, and some food, the UN hoped the armies would run out of the means to continue fighting. It was further hoped that shortages in Serbia might force the Serb government to pressure Bosnian Serbs to accept a negotiated peace.

Arms sanctions proved effective against the Muslims in Bosnia. Slow to form an army and lacking military stockpiles, the Muslims were outgunned from the start. The Serbs, and to a lesser extent the Croats, had large stockpiles of weapons and supplies, including artillery used to lay siege to cities.

Economic sanctions also proved ineffective. Part of the problem was that the Serbian government had little or no control over the Bosnian Serbs. In fact, the Bosnian Serbs lacked a real command structure; individual units waged war against the Muslims however they liked. This was why the ceasefires often collapsed. While the commanders might agree to a ceasefire they couldn't force their soldiers to abide by the agreement.

How little control Serbia's government exerted over the soldiers in the field was evident in May 1993. Serbia urged Bosnia's Serbian command to accept a UN-brokered peace treaty. The agreement guaranteed the Serbs most of what they had won in Bosnia. Serbia, now hard pressed by the sanctions, thought the deal acceptable. The Bosnian Serbs rejected the plan and returned to the battlefield.

Direct military intervention by the rest of the world was now increasingly favoured. U.S. President Bill Clinton had argued for this since his election. The Europeans resisted the idea.

Air strikes seemed the safest approach. If a UN coalition force hammered Serbian military targets and Bosnian-Serb gun positions from the air surely the Serbs would soon negotiate. But in mountainous and forested country artillery positions are nearly impossible to spot and destroy from the air. And, there was no guarantee bombarding

Serbian targets wouldn't backfire by hardening their determination to resist. What if air strikes failed? The only option, then, might be to commit a large force of troops.

This strategy frightened everyone, even President Clinton. The Balkans wasn't Iraq and Kuwait, where wide stretches of desert allowed easy troop movement and made defence difficult. This was mountainous country. The fighters were highly motivated, determined, and capable. They could melt into the hills and strike back at will against an invasion force. Any ground attack on the Balkans promised to drag on for years and the casualties would be high. An estimated 300,000 soldiers would be needed to separate the combatants.

Fear of the crisis expanding was one reason the western democracies were involved at all. Everyone agreed something had to be done to stop the slaughter. Failure to halt the Bosnian fighting might lead to Serbian aggression in Macedonia, Montenegro, and semi-autonomous Kosovo. These areas bordered other nations that might be drawn into an all-out war.

As diplomats differed, however, fighting in Bosnia and Croatia was bringing about its own solution. The process of "ethnic cleansing" involved forcing Muslims out of Serb and Croat areas; those who wouldn't leave were simply killed. The refugees created by the process were flooding into areas where their forces still exerted military control. The other option the world

community was examining was becoming a reality though the process of war; the ethnic groups were separating into small pockets. If the combatants would agree not to cross each other's lines there might be peace.

It was the Muslims who were taking the biggest terrain losses and suffering the greatest human casualties. They needed a safe haven, where they would be protected from Serb and Croat attacks. In Iraq, U.S. and NATO forces had successfully protected a Kurdish community of 3.5 million in an area of northern Iraq covering 50,000 km². Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had been kept from attacking this safe haven by the threat that if he did there would be an immediate military response. Perhaps, the same solution would work in Bosnia.

But time was running out. The Serbs and Croats, now effectively in control, proposed cutting up Bosnia three ways into a federal state divided by ethnic groups. Muslim leaders wanted Bosnia to persist as one multi-ethnic state.

Failing agreement, all sides seemed ready to accept Bosnia becoming an international protectorate. This was the same idea as a safe haven. UN peacekeeping forces would keep the combatants from fighting each other and each group would stay inside its agreed borders.

Whatever the result, however, it's obvious the international community faces years of work trying to help bring about and maintain a lasting Balkan peace.¹

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "Ordeal in Bosnia," by Mark Zuehlke, September 1993, pp. 16–17. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

1. Should there be direct military intervention by the rest of the world to end the conflict in Bosnia?

2. What dangers are there for the peacekeeping troops already in this area when the warring sides are still continuing to fight?

3. In what ways is the conflict occurring in Bosnia different from the Iraq-Kuwait Gulf War conflict?

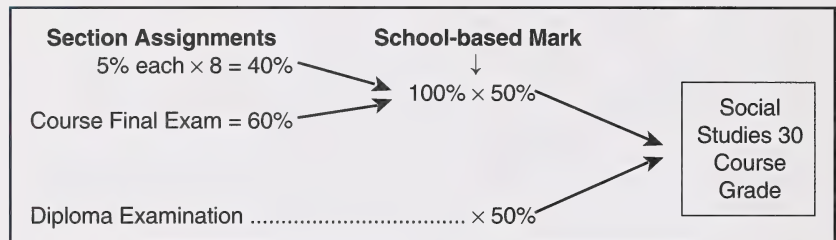
Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Activity 4.

Activity 5: Preparing for Exams

This is the last activity in your Social Studies 30 course and is a very important activity. Two exams must be written for the completion of this course. First you will write the Social Studies 30 Course Final Exam which is much like a summary and is based upon the modules you have studied. Then you will write the Social Studies 30 Grade 12 Diploma Examination. This is written at an examination centre in either January or June. Your final mark for Social Studies 30 will be based on a combination of your module assignments, the course final exam, and the diploma exam.

This activity and the course final exam are good preparation for your diploma exam.

Review the Diploma Examination Information in the Appendix of Module 1 as a reminder of the content and format of the diploma exam and how it will be scored, and for advice on writing your written response.



Part A: Multiple Choice

The Part A: Multiple Choice section will have a variety of questions that require you to apply critical thinking skills to unfamiliar situations. The question formats include

- **Analysis and classification questions:** These questions require you to analyse and/or interpret information, categorize subject matter, and apply knowledge to new data.
- **Matching questions:** These questions require you to select from a list the correct application of policy, principle, or condition to an interest group, situation, or circumstance.

The following sample questions serve to illustrate the nature and the complexity of the questions that will appear on the Social Studies 30 Diploma Examination. You should note that recall and lower-level skill questions do not accurately reflect the nature of the diploma examination.

Use the following information to answer question 1.

GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN A MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMY

1. Decrease personal income taxes
2. Reduce social security benefits
3. Provide tax incentives to private industries
4. Lower bank interest lending rates
5. Decrease public ownership in industry

1. These actions are primarily intended by government to

- A. revive a lagging economy
- B. decrease foreign investment capital
- C. fight the effects of high inflation
- D. lower the level of domestic production

This question assesses your understanding of a government's motivation in taking particular actions to affect an economy. You need to have a knowledge base in economics and an understanding of the concepts such as market-oriented economy, lending rates, tax incentives, and public ownership. You need to understand that the listed actions, when taken together, will have an impact on the economy; you must judge what that impact will be. The question requires you to choose the reason for these government actions; i.e., what is the problem to be solved by taking these actions. The question demands knowledge, analysis, and synthesis of information and ideas, and an understanding of economic principles.

For questions 2 and 3, a certain condition or policy is stated in relation to two groups. Judge the effect of this condition or policy on the groups listed by answering

- A. if the policy or condition is acceptable to the first group but unacceptable to the second
- B. if the policy or condition is unacceptable to the first group but acceptable to the second
- C. if the policy or condition is acceptable to both groups
- D. if the policy or condition is unacceptable to both groups

6. What source would be **most** consistent with the views held by the individual?

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. <i>Mein Kampf</i> | C. <i>Das Kapital</i> |
| B. <i>On Liberty</i> | D. <i>The Wealth of Nations</i> |

These are complex questions requiring you to recall, analyse, synthesize, and apply information. In question 4 you must interpret the stated political and economic views, and associate those views with a political label commonly used in Canada. Question 5 then requires you to apply those political and economic views to the context of a political spectrum, which in turn requires an understanding of the terms *left wing* and *right wing*. Question 6 then requires you to recall the political and economic views expressed in the books listed and to relate those views to the opinions held by the individual in the question.

7. The creation of the Concert of Europe in 1815, the League of Nations in 1919, and the United Nations in 1945 supports the generalization that

- A. the victors in major international conflicts have ignored the claims of their allies
- B. participation of all Great Powers is not essential for the success of any international peacekeeping agency
- C. member nations in international peace organizations have often sacrificed sovereignty to achieve collective security
- D. attempts to achieve international peace have often arisen from human experience with the destructiveness of war

This question expects you to recall information, recognize historical relationships, and then synthesize information and ideas to correctly support a generalization. You are called upon to recognize three examples of collective security. You may not be familiar with the Concert of Europe, but the question stem groups the organizations together so that even if you are unfamiliar with the Concert you should infer a commonality and, therefore, be able to correctly answer the question. This question demands as much critical thinking as it does recall of information.

8. Which **one** of the following developments was a **result** of the other three?

- A. The terms of the Treaty of Versailles concerning Germany were regarded as very harsh.
- B. The demands made by Hitler at Munich were met by a policy of appeasement.
- C. The Maginot Line encouraged a sense of security among the French people.
- D. The U.S.A. adhered to a policy of isolationism during the interwar years.

In this question the alternatives themselves act as a data source and require you to distinguish between and identify relationships among historical events. The question requires recall of historical facts, a conception of chronology, an understanding of cause and effect, and the ability to sort and relate this type of knowledge and understanding.

Use this cartoon to answer questions 9 and 10.



– from *Philadelphia Inquirer*

9. This 1987 cartoon suggests that both the Americans and the Soviets were prepared to
 - A. seek military alliances with Third World nations
 - B. risk direct military confrontation with each other
 - C. condone each other's right to pursue policies of containment
 - D. use force to maintain their respective spheres of influence
10. The bias revealed by the cartoonist would have been strongly condemned at the time by a supporter of the
 - A. Contra effort in Nicaragua
 - B. Sandinista government in Nicaragua
 - C. anti-imperialist forces in Afghanistan
 - D. anti-imperialist forces in Central America

Questions involving the interpretation of cartoons continue to appear on Social Studies 30 Diploma Examinations. In this cartoon you are required to recognize the implied parallels between Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and American involvement in Central America and to hypothesize reasons for the involvement. In question 10 you are expected to understand the perspectives of the cartoonist and of those who would disagree with the cartoonist by identifying and discerning the nature of the cartoonist's bias and recognizing a point of view held by a supporter of American intervention.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Activity 5.

Suggestions for Students when Answering Multiple-Choice Questions

- When first reading a multiple-choice question, locate and note the key words to help clarify the meaning of the question. Without looking at the alternatives, try to formulate an answer of your own. Your answer may be close to the correct alternative.
- Do not be afraid to answer each question even if you are unsure of the correct answer. A penalty is not given for guessing the answer in this section.
- If you are stuck on a question, mark the alternatives that you know are incorrect and choose from the ones that are left using logical guessing strategy. Think of the questions as challenges and cultivate a positive attitude about your ability to answer them.
- If time permits you may wish to quickly scan the written response and multiple-choice sections of the examination as a question in the section may jog your memory about a question in another section.
- Have a good reason for changing an answer. Do not change an answer on a hunch. Do not waste your time looking for patterns of As, Bs, Cs, and Ds in the multiple-choice answers as there are none.
- If you cannot answer a question in several minutes, leave it and go on to the next question. If you have time left over at the end of the exam, then come back to these questions. Time management while writing the exam is important as you have only a specified amount of time to complete the exam and you need to allow time to complete the written response of the exam as well.

Part B: Written Response

In your Appendix for Module 1 you were given advice on writing essays so that you could use it while doing your writing assignments throughout the course. This advice may also be applied to the written response section of your exam.

Remember that your essay will be evaluated on the following criteria:

- Exploration of the Issues: how well you demonstrate an understanding of the significance and complexity of the issues
- Defence of the Position: how well you take and defend a position concerning the issue; you need to develop and organize logical and persuasive arguments to accomplish this

- **Quality of Examples:** how well you support the position you take while accurate and relevant social studies examples that you select, develop, and apply in the defence of your position
- **Quality of Language and Expression:** how well you write; you should communicate in a clear and effective manner using proper syntax, mechanics, conventions, and vocabulary including social studies technology

Some added tips to consider while writing include the following:

- Plan your essay.
- Focus on the issue under discussion.
- Establish a clear position or thesis that will direct and unify your essay.
- Organize your essay in a manner that will effectively defend your position.
- Define your position by supporting your ideas and arguments with specific evidence drawn from your knowledge of social studies.
- You may not have time to complete and edit a complete rough copy for your written-response question, but you should prepare an outline of your answer and use it as a guide when writing your good copy.

Study the following sample questions carefully to prepare yourself for the type of essay question you will be asked to respond to. You may want to answer one of the following sample questions on looseleaf and then share your essay with a teacher or learning facilitator to get feedback on how well you have done.

Choose **one** of the following topics:

TOPIC A

In some nations, only one political party is allowed to exist and to form the government. It's believed that such a system best unifies citizens in a common purpose. In other nations, two major political parties contend with one another to form the government. In still other nations, many different political parties, representing a variety of policies, compete with one another to form the government.

Should nations have multiparty political systems?

In an essay, choose and defend a position on this issue.

or

TOPIC B

Some governments have attempted to prevent aggression by joining various alliances established to achieve a balance of power. They believe in a balance-of-power system in which no nation or group of nations will feel strong enough to threaten another. Other governments believe that a balance-of-power system is dangerous and that some other system must be established to prevent conflict among states.

Does a balance-of-power system prevent aggression among states?

In an essay, choose and defend a position on this issue.

Review Schedule

Now that you have an idea of what types of questions will be asked, you need to do some studying to prepare for the exam. Following is some advice to help you study:

- Prepare a course review schedule.
- Design your schedule for the two-week (minimum) period before the exam.
- Divide the course material into sections and indicate on the schedule the time blocks to be devoted to each section.
- Take into account the examination blueprint shown in the Appendix of Module 1 which indicates the relative weighting of each unit in the course as course units are not always equally weighted.
- Take into account units or concepts that you found the most difficult and allow extra time to review these.
- Main concepts are the most important and the best place to begin studying. Look over the overviews and tables of contents of the modules to discover the main ideas. After you have identified the main concepts, you will need to review specific details.
- Details begin in the section introductions. As you look at the section introductions, ask yourself if they fit with what you have learned. Do you feel you know something about these topics? You will find that in the diploma exam that questions are grouped around main concepts. The main concepts will therefore be covered by multiple-choice and the written-response questions. When studying the main concepts, watch for details such as cause-and-effect relationships.

- Make summaries and point-form outlines.
- Distinguish between major concepts and factual details.
- Anticipate examples of connections between concepts and the “real world.”

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

Review the notes in the activities for Section 5 carefully. In Activity 1 you were asked to make a time line to outline the events that were part of the 1989 Revolutions that occurred in Eastern Europe. Check over that time line as you review the notes in Activity 1. Then continue the time line to the present as you add the major changes and events that have occurred since the 1989 Revolutions in Eastern Europe. For instance, you would add the reunification of Germany on the line for October 1990. Use the notes from the section and any current events sources that you have access to in order to make your time line as detailed as you can. This will be an excellent way to review these events and changes and to look for possible relationships between them. For example, the collapse of communism in Eastern Germany in 1989 helped make possible the reunification of the two German states in 1990. Start your time line with January 1990 as the time line in Activity 1 should cover 1989. Be sure to include the collapse of the Soviet Union, the break-up of Czechoslovakia, and events in Yugoslavia on your time line.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Extra Help.

Enrichment

As you have learned in this section the emergence of new states has not been without some conflict. Growing religious, ethnic, and political fragmentation threaten global security. Canada has played a role as peacekeeper in various disputes that have occurred over the years and Canadians can be proud of this country's record. Read the following article.

===== From Peacekeeping to Peacemaking =====

*Canada is famous for its role as a leading United Nations peacekeeper.
Now, that role may be changing into active combat.*

Watch a close-fought hockey game. The referee and linesmen are as busy as the players, darting all over the ice, whistling down offences, and handing out penalties. Then, tempers flare over a careless stick or elbow, and players go at it hammer and tongs. Who gets in the middle of the brawl and tries to break it up? The linesmen, of course. From keeping the peace by a neutral use of the rules, they suddenly become, at considerable personal risk, the peacemakers.

That shift from peacekeeper to peacemaker may become more and more a part of the duties of United Nations peacekeeping forces. If so, Canada as a recognized leader in the art of peacekeeping, will have decisions to make on how it will deal with the new demands and new risks (see sidebar). Canadians will take such decisions very seriously because our record is a proud one; ours is the only nation which has taken part in every UN peacekeeping mission since the world body started to referee disputes in 1947.

Canadians were first drafted as observers to watch over ceasefires in the 1940s and early 1950s. However, it was not until the Suez Crisis of 1956 that the modern notion of “peacekeeping” was started. At that time, President Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt said he was to going to take over the Suez Canal, an international waterway. Britain, France,

and Israel invaded Egypt in an attempt to seize the canal. The Soviet Union and the United States angrily objected to this action and danger of a wider war grew. Then, Canada's minister of external affairs, Lester Pearson, had the happy idea of putting armed UN troops in the canal zone while the armies on both sides withdrew. It would be called the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and would be commanded by a Canadian, Lt.-Gen. E.L.M. Burns. A small problem remained. Canadian troops in the UNEF wore British-style battle dress so to avoid confusing them with the British, the blue helmet was adopted as a symbol of the peacekeepers. The blue helmet and blue beret have remained their emblems ever since.

Somalia is a country without a government. Civil war has torn the country apart and drought and famine did the rest. The world responded by sending food aid to stop the massive starvation. Unfortunately, most of the food aid was hijacked by armed gangs who controlled most of the country. The United Nations sent in troops, mostly Americans but some Canadians and others, to protect the food distribution system. At the first sight, of U.S. military might the bandits melted into the countryside and food aid got through to those in need. But, what happens when the American soldiers leave, as they say they plan to do? The warlords and their gunmen will return and Somalia will be back to square one. Should UN troops stay, perhaps, forever, or should they be pulled out?

STRETCHED TO THE LIMIT

Somalia, Bosnia, Croatia, Cambodia – all of them exemplify situations in which human rights are being constantly violated. The United Nations Charter states that the organization must not interfere in the domestic affairs of any nation, but it also promotes human rights and freedoms and allows the use of force to compel compliance with Security Council resolutions protecting them. Increasingly, the Council is voting for tough action against nations where human rights are being trampled.

Such resolutions, such as the recent one about Somalia, call for UN missions in which troops arrive to *make* peace before *keeping* it, using force and seizing weapons if necessary so that humanitarian aid can get through. But while the UN was tilting toward riskier operations of this sort, former Defence Minister Marcel Masse was announcing in 1991 that Canada's military would be reduced by 10% over three years. This leaves us in an awkward fix, with increasing demand up against diminishing resources of personnel and equipment. Our military leaders warn that unless the Masse policy is reversed we won't be able to meet even current peacekeeping commitments beyond the end of 1993. Meanwhile, here are suggestions for ways around the bind we are in:

- Military experts propose a specialist role for Canadian peacekeepers. Canada has expertise in the logistics (moving people and material) and communications needed in the early stages of peacekeeping. Smaller units could be sent to more global hotspots to get operations started, then leave other countries to take over. This would ease the strain and cost of long-term missions such as those in Cyprus, Bosnia, and Croatia.
- Take some of the billions now spent on costly Cold War weapons such as submarines, fighter aircraft, and shipborne helicopters and spend it on peacekeeping. Further specialize in peacekeeping by converting surplus military bases, such as CFB Cornwallis in Nova Scotia, to peacekeeping training centres.
- Expand the role of civilians in peacekeeping and pass a law to protect their civilian jobs when they return home.
- Create a special peacekeeping force with fixed terms of duty. Recruits to this force would receive formal military training but would return to civilian life when their term was up.
- Allot more of the military budget to the army since of the three services (army, air force, navy) it carries the heaviest burden of peacekeeping duties.

Critics say it's high time for a full parliamentary debate on our future role in the new and riskier form of peacekeeping while the bullets are still flying. The Cold War may be over but the unstable world of the 1990s needs the UN peacekeepers more urgently than ever.

The Suez operation was a success and a turning point for UN peacekeeping. For the first time, a multinational force, equipped with small arms, acted as a police force. At the same time, a basic principle was established which has stood until today; peacekeepers would not use force except to defend themselves. Lester Pearson won the Nobel Peace Prize for his idea and Canadians began to build their reputations as skilled peacekeepers.

Over the years, a total of 87,000 Canadian men and women have been a part of at least 25 UN missions, and four operations outside the framework of the UN. And, even though their participation has been of the never-fire-first variety it hasn't been without risk. Since 1950, apart from the Korean War, 84 Canadians have died on peacekeeping duty.

Perhaps the best-known UN action

assigned to Canadian troops has been on the island of Cyprus in the Mediterranean. There, hostile Turks and Greeks threaten to blow each other to bits across a buffer zone. There, also, two generations of Canadian soldiers have prevented them from killing each other since 1964. Endless failure to negotiate peace means they have now been withdrawn from this no-win situation, but many lives have been saved in those 28 years.

If people know nothing about a peacekeeping operation it is usually a highly successful one. The Golan Heights in the Middle East is an outstanding example. Brian Urquhart, known as "Mr. Peacekeeper" for his 30 years of crisis management at the UN points to it as "an operation you never hear about because it has worked out so successfully." There has been no clash between Israeli and Syrian armies on the

Golan border since 250 Canadians arrived there in 1974.

Peacekeeping has become a growth industry. Since the Cold War ended and former Soviet republics and Eastern European satellites won freedom, dozens of uprisings and civil wars have erupted among ethnic groups. Some 70 countries have, over the years, provided nearly 600,000 peacekeepers. Canada continues to supply about 10% of the 45,000 peacekeeping soldiers now deployed around the globe. Demands on the blue berets have multiplied, and their skills now go far beyond merely monitoring a ceasefire.

After Soviet forces left Afghanistan in 1988, the UN sent a mission there to educate returning refugees about the dangers of thousands of unexploded land mines strewn about the countryside. That was fairly routine duty, but in Cambodia, where the UN plans to send 22,000 soldiers from 44 countries to supervise a 1991 peace plan, the challenges are far more complex. Peace and democracy have to be established in a country with little of either. A United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) has to resettle 375,000 people from refugee camps in neighbouring Thailand. UNTAC must disarm 300,000 troops of four warring armies, including the Khmer Rouge who have reneged on a promise to surrender their weapons. Somehow, 70% of these soldiers must be returned to civilian life. As in Afghanistan, removal of land mines is a

major task, with Canada heavily involved. One Canadian assignment is to help set up a database listing all the up to 10 million mines in the country.

Though Cambodia is by far the largest UN peace project yet, it is an illustration of how delicate and complicated the process of dealing with the world's many trouble spots is becoming. Peacekeeping, in fact, is changing to peacebuilding or peacemaking. It used to be that the blue berets stepped in only after the rattle of machine guns and the crump of mortar fire was stilled. Now, the UN's battalions are there when battles are still raging, as in the former Yugoslavia, often caught in the middle and blamed for favouritism by both sides.

Canada's armed forces measure up well in these situations, and for other reasons, too, their services are most sought after. Why Canada especially? For one thing, Canada is a middle power with no particularly global axe to grind and so is thought more likely to take a neutral stance in conflicts. Canadians have a reputation for tolerance and a willingness to listen to all sides of a dispute. Beyond that, they have the expertise built on 45 years of experience and have had, as Maj.-Gen. Lewis Mackenzie, Canada's best-known peacekeeper, says, "super training and discipline."

Canadians can look with pride on a new monument to Canada's peacekeeping forces unveiled in Ottawa last October by Governor-General Ray Hnatyshyn.¹

¹ R/L Taylor Publishing Consultants Ltd. for the article from *Canada and the World*, "From Peacekeeping to Peacemaking," by Charles A. White, February 1993, pp. 10–12. Reprinted by permission of *Canada and the World*, Waterloo, Ontario.

Write a composition in which you comment on what you feel should be Canada's role in regard to peacekeeping in the 1990s. Use the following space to plan your composition and then write it out on looseleaf.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 5: Enrichment.

Conclusion

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union has led to the end of the Cold War and helped to ease tensions between East and West. The new democratic governments in Eastern European countries and in the former Soviet republics face many challenges as they work to turn communist states into market economics. There is also some uncertainty as to who has control of the large collection of nuclear weapons that the former Soviet Union had built up. Growing religious and ethnic fragmentation in this part of the world is also a matter of concern. Conflicts within countries such as the former Yugoslavia are a reminder of how unstable the world is at present and help us to recognize the need for United Nations peacekeepers to provide humanitarian assistance to victims in such trouble spots and to work at maintaining global peace. With the number of such conflicts growing (for example, Somalia, Bosnia, Croatia, Cambodia) it needs to be decided whether or not the United Nations should play the role of the world's police force and whether or not it can meet the increased demands for its peacekeeping operations.

ASSIGNMENT

There is no assignment for this section.

MODULE SUMMARY

This module has dealt primarily with world events that occurred between 1963 and the present. The emergence of the superpowers after World War II and how they have influenced global relations after the Cuban Missile Crisis was a major focus of the module. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the breakup of the Soviet Union has changed the tensions between East and West.

The underlying, pervasive theme was the threat of nuclear war. One fundamental question has been this:

How did mutual assured destruction and deterrence affect Soviet-American relations?

To investigate this question you studied the postwar superpowers' arms race. You discovered that the acceptance of MAD deterred superpower leaders from risking a direct confrontation that could escalate into a total nuclear war.

Concerned superpower leaders spearheaded the pursuit of détente. For a time the U.S.A. and the USSR entered a period of peaceful coexistence. Several arms control agreements were signed.

The arms race accelerated when the U.S.A. announced its work toward a technological breakthrough in weaponry called the Strategic Defense Initiative. SDI threatened the existing balance of power and theory of mutual deterrence, and further damaged superpower relations. Deployment of the cruise missile in Europe further dampened relations. Another fundamental question, then, is this:

How did superpower relations affect the interactions of all nations in the world?

As a result of mutual deterrence, the superpowers became involved in indirect confrontations to serve their economic and ideological interests. These were largely limited wars – limited in size and weaponry and limited to a specific region of the world.

Examples of these conflicts include the guerrilla war in Vietnam in Southeast Asia, El Salvador in Central America, Grenada in the Caribbean, and the Arab-Israeli Crisis in the Middle East.

The U.S.A. and the former USSR both intervened in countries within their respective spheres of influence. When some countries attempted to achieve self-determination that was detrimental to the interests of a superpower, indirect resistance or, in some cases, direct invasion, resulted. The USSR invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979. The U.S.A. has supported resistance to left-wing movements in Central America for years, and directly invaded Grenada.

Such expansionist policies of the superpowers have created many popular movements in a number of countries dedicated to self-determination. A disturbing outgrowth of many of these conflicts is terrorism, exemplified best by the actions of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and its agencies.

Many attempts have been made to prevent modern conflict. The United Nations works on a global and regional level to establish peace. Diplomats have worked to solve problems that created confrontations. Conferences in Geneva and Paris to alleviate the turbulence in Vietnam are examples of these efforts.

Multilateral nuclear arms control treaties such as the Partial Test Ban Treaty and the Nonproliferation Treaty showed that worldwide attempts were being made to stem testing and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Similarly, bilateral treaties like the ABM Treaty, SALT, and INF Talks demonstrated a somewhat consistent superpower concern for nuclear arms control.

Disarmament movements such as Greenpeace, Operation Dismantle, and Project Ploughshares have emerged to pressure governments to limit and dismantle nuclear arms. Nuclear-free zones have been declared all over the world. People are beginning to speak out.

The lessons of the Cold War policy of brinkmanship during the Cuban Missile Crisis and the realities of the nuclear arms race provided the needed stimulus for many European nations to work toward a United States of Europe. The primary vehicle leaders have used to achieve this goal is the EEC.

However, themes not directly related to the nuclear arms race have also emerged in recent years. Industrialization has created several global trends:

- Decolonization and the emergence of the Third World as a powerful political force has created the beginning of a new balance of power. Former colonies have found themselves in the unfortunate position of developing their own leadership and defending their new independence against a sometimes hostile world. Many Third World nations have learned to cooperate to become more assertive. The member nations of the oil cartel OPEC have successfully gained control of their petroleum industries from multinational corporations and the industrialized world. The OAU is a regional organization that has shown that Third World nations can cooperate – that they can work toward common African economic and political goals. Countries in the Pacific Rim have become formidable world economic leaders. Indeed, you have learned that economic issues have shaped international relations.
- These new economic realities have forced many nations to become less protectionist. Witnessing the success of the EEC and the work of GATT in reducing tariff barriers, the U.S.A., Canada, and Mexico have signed a free trade agreement.
- Environmental problems have grown out of the Industrial Revolution – problems that demand responsibility and cooperation immediately. Improvements in science and technology have extended life expectancies by lowering death rates. Yet the population of the world continues to grow at an alarming rate. There are definite limits to providing food and other necessities to the quickly growing global population.

All kinds of pollution plague the planet. Toxic spills have altered the quality of life from the Love Canal of the U.S.A. to Bhopal, India. Oil spills have destroyed the ecosystems of large areas, one of the more recent being the Exxon tanker spill off the Alaska coast in 1989. Industrial emissions into the atmosphere are responsible for two of the most disturbing environmental problems the world has known: the greenhouse effect and the hole in the ozone layer. The world's rain forests continue to be eliminated at an alarming rate, exacerbating the greenhouse effect further. All of these problems have threatened our basic necessities: food, water, and air. They have indeed challenged the world.

In the last decade we have seen a gradual awareness of this challenge. International conventions continue to probe issues of the environment and several agreements are on the horizon. These movements toward environmental responsibility and global cooperation are essential for the earth to survive.

- People of the world have learned more about a persistent disgrace – the abuse of human rights.

What has been done to stop such abuses?

Amnesty International, an international organization dedicated to stopping human abuses, has worked diligently to pressure governments and groups to stop the arbitrary arrest and torture of people. Enlisting the help of people of all nations, AI has met with many successes.

What has been done to protect human rights?

The United Nations works very hard to protect human rights. In 1948, the UN issued the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which detailed the rights with which all human beings are felt to have been born.

The Helsinki Accord of 1975 was a multilateral agreement in which thirty-five nations pledged to respect human rights.

While not all countries respect the Helsinki Accord or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community is attempting to cooperate to create a world based on justice and humanitarianism – for everyone.

The dissolving of the Warsaw Pact in the spring of 1991 and of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991 left the world with one superpower and brought an end to the Cold War. A new world order was being created in which the strongest nations in the world, led by the United States, were to cooperate in solving global problems. This was tested during the Persian Gulf conflict when coalition forces, led by the United States, and fighting under the United Nations flag, succeeded in forcing Saddam Hussein's forces out of Kuwait. This was a remarkable display of collective security. It was the first time since the Second World War that the United States and the Soviet Union (supported by most other nations of the world) took the same side in a conflict.

Bloody civil wars in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, a tiny African country, continue to be fought without decisive intervention on the part of the United Nations. In these situations the Americans are doing little in providing leadership to help end the fighting and slaughter. The reason for this may lie in part with the desire not to become involved in the internal affairs of a country as the United Nations Charter states that the organization must not interfere with the domestic affairs of any nation. The United Nations does, however, promote human rights and freedom and allows the use of force to compel compliance with Security Council resolutions protecting them. It is for this reason many people want to see the United Nations play a more assertive role in world affairs.

History did not end with the Cold War and we do not live in a world of perfect peace and prosperity. There will be new problems to deal with, conflicts to solve, and decisions to be made. People and their leaders are gradually realizing that the problems

will not go away by themselves. A global awareness to the world's problems seems to be developing. The urgent need for a more secure and responsibly world community has emphasized the need for international cooperation and understanding.

Generalizations

Several generalizations can be drawn from our study of superpower and global interactions from 1962 to the present:

- The scale of destruction in modern war has focused attention on principles of justice and human rights.
- A shift in the balance of power results in changed relationships among nations.
- Decolonization and the emergence of new nations influenced the foreign policies of the superpowers.
- The superpowers faced pressures of self-determination within their spheres of influence.
- The development of nuclear weapons has been viewed as both a stabilizing and a destabilizing influence in superpower relations.
- Global interactions are becoming increasingly influenced by economic developments.
- The balance of power that existed during the Cold War ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union.
- We now live in a unipolar world, a world in which there is only one superpower.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the final assignment for this module.

COURSE SURVEY FOR SOCIAL STUDIES 30

Please evaluate this course and return this survey when you have completed your last module assignment. This is a course designed in a new distance-learning format, so we are interested in your responses. Your constructive comments will be greatly appreciated, as future course revisions can then incorporate any necessary improvements.

Name _____ Course _____

Address _____ Age ☐ under 19 ☐ 19 to 40 ☐ over 40

_____ File No. _____

_____ Date _____

Design

1. This course contains a series of module booklets. Do you like the idea of separate booklets?

2. Have you ever enrolled in a correspondence course that arrived as one large volume?

☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, which style do you prefer?

3. The module booklets contained a variety of self-assessed activities. Did you find it helpful to be able to check your work and have immediate feedback?

☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, explain.

4. Were the questions and directions easy to understand?

☐ Yes ☐ No If no, explain.

5. Each section contains Follow-up Activities. Which type of follow-up activity did you choose?

- ☐ mainly Extra Help
- ☐ mainly Enrichment
- ☐ a variety
- ☐ none

Did you find these activities beneficial?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No If no, explain.

6. Did you understand what was expected in the section assignments?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No If no, explain.

7. The course materials were designed to be completed by students working independently at a distance. Were you always aware of what you had to do?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No If no, provide details.

8. Suggestions for audiocassette and videocassette activities may have been included in the course. Did you make use of these media options?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No Comment on the lines below.

Course Content

1. Was enough detailed information provided to help you learn the expected skills and objectives?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No Comment on the lines below.

2. Did you find the work load reasonable?

☐ Yes ☐ No If no, explain.

3. Did you have any difficulty with the reading level?

☐ Yes ☐ No Please comment.

4. How would you assess your general reading level?

☐ poor reader ☐ average reader ☐ good reader

5. Was the material presented clearly and with sufficient depth?

☐ Yes ☐ No If no, explain.

General

1. What did you like least about the course?

2. What did you like most about the course?

Additional Comments

Only students enrolled with the Alberta Distance Learning Centre need to complete the remaining questions.

1. Did you contact the Alberta Distance Learning Centre for help or information while doing your course?

☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, approximately how many times? _____

Did you find the staff helpful?

☐ Yes ☐ No If no, explain.

2. Were you able to fax any of your assignment response pages?

☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, comment on the value of being able to do this.

3. If you were mailing your assignment response pages, how long was it taking for their return?


4. Was the feedback you received from your correspondence teacher helpful?

☐ Yes ☐ No Please comment.

Thanks for taking the time to complete this survey. Your feedback is important to us. Please return this survey with your last module assignment.

Instructional Design and Development
Alberta Distance Learning Centre
Box 4000
Barrhead, Alberta
T7N 1P4

Appendix

	Glossary
	Activities
	Extra Help
	Enrichment

Glossary

ABM (Antiballistic Missile System)

- a system of radar and defensive missiles that detects and destroys incoming offensive weapons—nuclear and nonnuclear

Amnesty International (AI)

- an international organization that works for the preservation of human rights

Arms control

- efforts to limit the size, power, and spread of weapons systems, especially nuclear arms

Arms race

- a contest between two or more nations competing with each other for military superiority

ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations)

- an organization established to accelerate economic progress and to increase the stability of the Southeast Asian region

Cartel

- an agreement concerning pricing and production among major producing countries of a particular commodity

Civil war

- a war waged by people of the same state on opposing sides

Colonies

- territories that are dominated politically and economically by foreign powers

Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance)

- the communist equivalent of the Common Market

Cruise missile

- a small, pilotless jet aircraft that can fly at extremely low altitudes to avoid radar detection
It can deliver a nuclear weapon with great accuracy, and can be launched from airplanes, trucks, ships, or submarines.

Desertification

- the process of fertile land becoming desert-like

Destabilization

- a situation in which nations feel less secure due to increased danger of conflict and misunderstanding

Deterrence

- a military doctrine according to which potential enemies are threatened with unacceptable damage through retaliation, thus preventing a possible attack

Disarmament

- the reduction or elimination by a nation of its weapons systems

Domino effect

- a theory used by the U.S.A. in connection with its involvement in Southeast Asia and Central America
The countries of Southeast Asia and Central America were likened to a row of dominoes with South Vietnam (in Southeast Asia) and Cuba (in Central America) being the first in the row. If they fell under communist control, then so eventually would other countries in the region – like a row of dominoes.

Doomsday clock

- a clock that periodically appears on the cover of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, indicating how close the world is to nuclear war
As global tensions increase, the clock's hands move closer to midnight.

Ecology

- the science that studies how organisms interrelate with their environment

Ecosystem

- the delicately balanced system of life-forms, land, water, and the atmosphere

ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community)

- a European organization set up to pave the way for economic unity by placing its six founding members' coal and steel in a single common market

EEC (European Economic Community)

- an international organization of nations that have cooperated to reduce and eliminate tariffs against member states and impose restrictive measures against nonmembers
It is also known as the "Common Market."

EFTA (European Free Trade Association)

- a loose economic organization of seven European nations created in 1959

Escalation

- a term to describe an increase in military involvement and aid

FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization)

- the specialized agency of the UN that deals with world problems of food supplies and improvement in farming throughout the world

FTA (Free Trade Agreement)

- between Canada and the U.S., an agreement to minimize mutual protectionist trade measures

GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade)

- an international UN organization that works to reduce tariffs

Global security

- confidence among all nations that they will not be attacked – that the world as we know it will survive

Helsinki Accord

- an agreement reached at a conference held in Helsinki, Finland, in 1975, that marked the height of détente
The conference dealt with issues left unresolved by the Potsdam Conference of 1945. The Soviets gained formal recognition of east European boundaries while the U.S.A. gained concessions on human rights.

Human rights

- fundamental rights, such as freedom of movement and equality of opportunity, that are accepted as belonging to every human being, irrespective of race, colour, religion, or political beliefs

ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile)

- a ballistic missile with a range of 6400 km or more
Modern ICBMs have a range of up to 14 500 km and need about thirty minutes to reach their targets.

IMF (International Monetary Fund)

- a UN agency established in 1945 to assist countries in meeting imbalances of payments in order to facilitate greater trade

Limited nuclear war

- a war in which full-scale nuclear exchanges are avoided by targeting military and industrial centres rather than cities
Some analysts think this might limit the scope and damage of nuclear war.

Multinational corporations

- companies centred in one country that have expanded their trade operations to many countries of the world
They maintain branch plants in several countries and a head office in one.

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)

- the concept that neither the U.S. nor the USSR could sustain a nuclear attack and still inflict unacceptable damage on the other

Neocolonialism

- a situation in which one country indirectly influences or controls a weaker country

Nonaligned nations

- countries allied with neither the communist nor non-communist blocs

Nuclear disarmament

- the elimination of nuclear weapons around the world

Nuclear-free zone

- a geographic area that the inhabitants designate to remain free of nuclear weapons in every respect

Nuclear proliferation

- the spread of nuclear weapons
“Horizontal proliferation” refers to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nations that previously had none. “Vertical proliferation” refers to increases in a nation’s nuclear arsenal.

OAU (Organization of African Unity)

- an organization of African nations that attempts to achieve unity and cooperation throughout the continent

Oligopoly

- an economic situation in which each of a few producers affects, but doesn’t fully control, a market

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

- an international cartel that has considerable influence in determining supply, demand, and price of oil

Pacific Rim countries

- countries such as Taiwan, Korea, China, and Japan
The Pacific Rim countries are becoming a formidable economic force in the world.

Pan-African

- promoting the interests of all peoples in Africa

Peaceful coexistence

- a policy announced in 1956 by Nikita Khrushchev advocating political rather than military competition between the superpowers

Pershing missile

- a type of U.S. ballistic missile
It can be a short- or medium-range missile.

Protectionism

- a government policy designed to shelter locally produced goods from less expensive imports with the goal of preserving jobs in the country

Proxy war

- a regional, limited war, often fought in and by Third World countries, in which superpowers become involved to further their interests

SALT (Strategic Arms Limitations Talks)

- a long series of negotiations (1969–1979) between the superpowers to limit the arms buildup
SALT I was signed in 1972 and provided a plan for a five-year period of limited nuclear weapons production and development; **SALT II** was accepted by the USSR but stalled by the U.S. Senate.

SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative)

- a program announced by President Reagan in 1985 to provide active defence against nuclear attack by destroying missiles from satellites in space – dubbed “Star Wars” by the press

SEATO (Southeast Asian Treaty Organization)

- a defence pact designed by the U.S.A. in 1954 to protect Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam from communist advances
The signing went against the principles of the Geneva Accords.

SLBM (submarine-launched ballistic missile)

- a nuclear missile that can be launched at sea

Solidarity

- an umbrella federation of trade unions in Poland that became a strong political force of ten million members led by Lech Walesa
The union was declared illegal under martial law in 1982, but later became an official opposition party in the Polish parliament.

Stabilization

- a situation of decreased danger of conflict and of greater international security

Strategic weapons

- long-range missiles and bombs

Superpower

- a term applied to the U.S.A. and to the USSR to distinguish them as the most powerful nations in the world, militarily and politically

Tariff

- a tax on imported goods

Terrorism

- unlawful acts of violence committed in an attempt to overthrow a government or to promote a cause

Total nuclear war

- a war in which the nuclear powers would unleash all their nuclear weapons against their enemies
This is in contrast to the theory of limited nuclear war, which is the strategy that a small number of nuclear weapons can be used in a conflict in order to attain specific objectives.

Truman Doctrine

- a policy announced in March 1947 in which President Truman offered economic assistance to any nation willing to fight the spread of communism

Unilateral

- done or undertaken by one person or party (as opposed to collective)

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- a UN document, adopted in 1948, that spells out and vows to uphold those rights and freedoms thought to be inherent to every person

Verification

- the process of determining, through means of inspection or intelligence gathering, whether an opponent is complying with arms control agreements

WHO (World Health Organization)

- the specialized agency of the UN which deals with world health

World Bank

- an international bank for reconstruction and development; a UN agency established in 1945 to provide loans to UN member-states for economic development.

Suggested Answers**Section 1: Activity 1**

1. The U.S.A. and the USSR were known as superpowers.
2. Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and the U.S.A. were major powers during this time.
3. The events were
 - for the USSR: – Yalta, Potsdam
– Soviet expansion into eastern Europe
– growing military and economic power
 - for the U.S.A.: – post-World War II power vacuum
– greater industrial and military strength
4.
 - American commitments to play the role of policeman and champion against communism have become too costly.
 - The USSR's Cold War commitments became too costly as well.
 - Both nations were having problems sustaining standards of living of their respective peoples.
5. Taking all three categories of size, population, and wealth into consideration, the two countries were clearly among the greatest in the world.
6. **USSR:**
 - size – 22 402 000 sq. km.
 - wealth – \$1212 billion GNP
 - armed forces – 3 375 000
 - nuclear weapons – 2484

U.S.A.:

 - wealth – \$2925.5 billion GNP
 - armed forces – 2 699 000
 - nuclear weapons – 1854

7. Wealth, armed forces, nuclear weapons, and population are all factors that disqualify Canada.
8. (C) The superpowers are nations whose military and political power is far greater than those of any other nation of the world, which gives them a major influence on all international affairs and interactions.

Section 1: Activity 2








Generalization: The devastating effects of a nuclear blast come from heat, the blast, and radiation.

Section 1: Activity 3

1. The shock of a near nuclear war caused the superpowers to move into an era of increased cooperation.
2. MAD: Mutual Assured Destruction
3. Many people believed that MAD had proven to be a potent deterrent to the superpowers' attacking one another. If an attack began with conventional forces, the conflict may still have escalated to nuclear war.
4. Both superpowers believed that they must keep up in the arms race, or the side which felt it had an advantage may have been tempted to attack.
5. Both superpowers entered for a time into a period of mutual tolerance.
6. Détente refers to the relaxation of tension between the U.S.A. and the USSR and their respective allies.
7. **Stabilized:** MAD and mutual deterrence enforce a kind of stability through the balance of power.

Destabilized: The presence of nuclear capability puts the entire world in a constant state of readiness for war.

Section 1: Activity 4

1. a. 1949  <ul style="list-style-type: none">• USSR explodes first nuclear bomb	b. 1963  <ul style="list-style-type: none">• post-Cuban Crisis relaxed tensions• partial Test Ban Treaty	c. 1969  <ul style="list-style-type: none">• some conflicts, but Nonproliferation Treaty gives hope	d. 1972  <ul style="list-style-type: none">• ratification of SALT
e. 1974  <ul style="list-style-type: none">• SALT fails to make progress<ul style="list-style-type: none">– arms race intensifies– India gets the bomb– accident occurs at Three Mile Island	f. 1984  <ul style="list-style-type: none">• nuclear leaders reluctant to talk	g. 1992  <ul style="list-style-type: none">• end of Cold war• eased tension between American and Russian governments	

2. Nuclear weapons have had a destabilizing effect on the world.

Section 1: Activity 5

1. Global security is the feeling that the world will continue to exist for some time.
2. MAD would deter the superpowers from attacking each other and launching a nuclear war. Disarmament would prevent nuclear war by eliminating nuclear weapons.
3. Your answer here will be personal. You may think that MAD is the only way to keep the balance of power and maintain a deterrent for the superpowers to avoid war. By contrast, you may feel that the only way to ensure peace is to eliminate the threat – i.e., to disarm completely.

4. Again your answer will be personal. You must think about likely positive and negative outcomes of MAD and disarmament.
5.
 - a. The baby represents humanity.
 - b. It sees the dilemma: should it choose peace and disarmament or security through armed readiness?
 - c. The baby in the cartoon realizes the dilemma that all individuals must face: support mutual deterrence or disarmament?

Section 1: Activity 6

1. They represent the USSR and U.S.A.
2. They are riding nuclear missiles.
3. They symbolize the nuclear arms race.
4. The cartoonist is saying that the arms race was senseless and unnecessary.
5. One way was by improving technology; for example, the U.S. invented the hydrogen bomb in 1952. Another way was by increasing the numbers of nuclear weapons, with each side fighting to have the largest arsenal.
6. It appears that the U.S.A. tended to instigate each stage of escalation in the arms race. Have you included statistical support?
7. Their purpose was to further their own economic, political, and ideological self-interests.
8. Each superpower was willing to escalate the arms race to
 - gain the advantage
 - prevent the other from gaining the advantage
9. **The arms race stabilized global interactions:**
 - There must be a drive toward balance of deterrence.
 - The only way to deter was to keep up with the other superpower. Mutual deterrence was stopping another world war.
 - If one side perceived superiority, it would be tempted to use nuclear weapons.

The arms race destabilized global interactions:

- A balance through deterrence was replaced by a balance of terror.
 - The race was unnecessary; we had deterrence long ago.
 - Preparing for war increased the probability of war.
10. The cartoon is saying that the arms race will inevitably lead to war and destruction. The idea is that mutual deterrence will not work. The superpowers will destroy the earth.
 11. The Soviet Union got out of the arms race because it was too costly; it couldn't afford to spend so much on nuclear weapons.
 12. Your answer here will be personal. Some people believed that Canada had to help test the cruise missile and other military technology because this was part of our obligation to NATO. Other people felt that if Canada was involved in the arms race we were contributing to something that was morally wrong and the Warsaw Pact would add more Canadian targets to its list.

Section 1: Activity 7

1.
 - U.S.A.
 - USSR
 - India
 - China
 - Israel
 - Pakistan
 - South Africa
 - Britain
 - France
2.
 - North Korea (obtained capability in 1994)
 - Algeria
 - Libya
 - Taiwan
 - Iraq
 (Brazil and Argentina have halted their programs.)

Section 1: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

Here are possible definitions. Wording, of course, will vary.

1. **Global security:** the universal feeling that the world will survive and will not suffer a nuclear war
2. **Stabilization (of international relations):** a situation in which international relations are based on trust or mutual acceptance and tolerance and there is less danger of war
3. **Destabilization (of international relations):** a situation in which relations are tenser and there is an increased likelihood of war

4. **Arms race:** the race for superiority in weapons among two or more nations
5. **Mutual Assured Destruction:** the belief that nuclear attacks launched by both nations will result in both nations' being destroyed
6. **Mutual deterrence:** the belief that the destructive capability and likelihood of mutual destruction will stop both superpowers from launching a nuclear attack
7. **Balance of power:** the striving of two or more nations to maintain equal military strength
8. **Nuclear proliferation:** the spread of nuclear weapons

Enrichment

Answers here will, of course, vary. Two possible generalizations are as follows:

- Nuclear weapons can maintain peace through the balance of power.
- Nuclear weapons can create confrontation by their presence.

Section 2: Activity 1

1.
 - a. It was the peninsula south of China and west of Myanmar (Burma).
 - b. Indochina included Laos, Cambodia (Kampuchea), and Vietnam.
2. The nationalist movement, that had emerged prior to World War II, fought for independence from France – Vietnam's colonial master – after World War II and Vietnam's liberation from Japanese control.
3.
 - a. **Colonialism:** the policy of a nation seeking to acquire, extend, or retain overseas dependencies
 - b. **Nationalism:** the belief among people that the common welfare is best served by an independent government whose policies reflect the self-determination of the nation
 - c. **Self-determination:** the right of a nation to conduct its own affairs and determine its own future
4. Ho Chi Minh was the leader.
5. The Japanese army invaded Southeast Asia as part of Japan's expansionist policies and occupied the French colony.
6. **Guerrilla warfare:** unconventional tactics used by an irregular army
Often, guerrillas fight on their own territory, which gives them an additional advantage over the regular enemy army.

7. After considerable fighting, the French army was surrounded and defeated at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.
8.
 - The independence of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam was recognized.
 - North and South Vietnam were created.
9. The U.S. perceived that the South would vote for the communists.
10. The Viet Cong were communist guerrillas who supported Ho Chi Minh in South Vietnam.
11.
 - French attempts to regain control of Indochina lost to guerrillas at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.
 - The Geneva Agreement divided Vietnam into communist North and non-communist South.
 - The communist Viet Minh from the North and Viet Cong in the South pressured the South.
 - The government in the South asked for help.
 - The U.S.A. gradually became involved.
 - China and the USSR backed the North.
12. SEATO stands for “Southeast Asian Treaty Organization.” SEATO’s commitment was similar to NATO’s – to stop communist aggression.
13. President Truman pledged to stop communist aggression anywhere in the world. His intention was to contain communism rather than allow it to spread any further into the rest of the world.
14.
 - a. A war by proxy is a limited war, often fought in a Third World country, in which superpowers become involved indirectly, through allies, to further their own interests.
 - b. Since the superpowers did not want to risk direct confrontation, and possible nuclear war, they fought each other through proxies.
15. As the U.S.A. and South Vietnam made their attempt to end the War (through increased personnel, weaponry, and technology), the North and the USSR met this increased commitment, thus maintaining the balance of power and escalating the War.
16.
 - a. No.
 - b. There were three reasons:
 - to limit the flow of supplies
 - to make the North pay for its actions
 - to boost morale of U.S. and allied troops in the South
17.

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• South Vietnam• Laos• Cambodia• Thailand	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Myanmar (Burma)• India• Pakistan
--	--

18. This answer will be personal. Here are samples of the reasoning you might have used.

- Yes** • The U.S.A. had to try to contain communism, to defend Vietnam's right to self-determination, and to prevent the domino effect in Southeast Asia.
- No** • Vietnam was involved in a civil conflict which was not U.S.A.'s business. Thousands of people were killed and wounded, and billions of dollars were spent.

19. The talks took place in Paris, beginning in 1973.

20. The policy involved turning the war back over to the Vietnamese people.

21. a. It ended in 1975.

b. Saigon fell and South Vietnam surrendered to the North.

22.

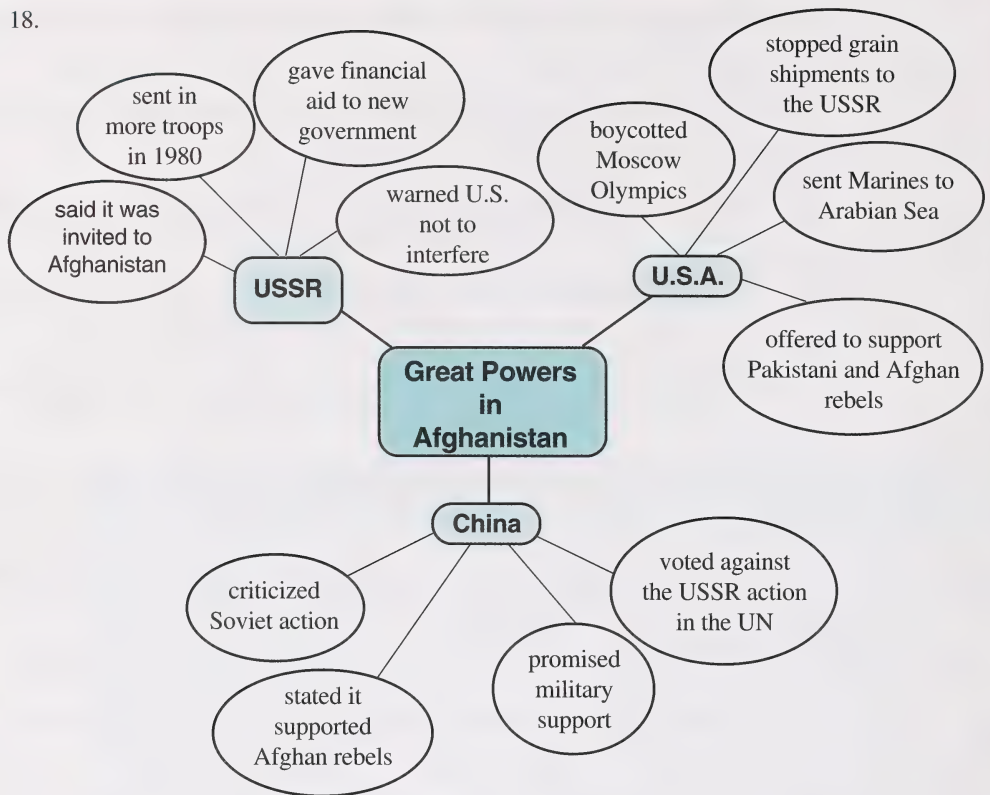
Nation	Main Reason for Intervention	Explanation
U.S.A.	containment	U.S.A. believed Vietnam would be the first domino to fall in Southeast Asia; followed through on the Truman Doctrine to attempt to stop communism from spreading
USSR	balance of power	Since the U.S.A. became more involved, the USSR felt obligated to assist the North; justified its helping the North by stating that they were helping an oppressed people from dominance by a superpower (U.S.)

Section 2: Activity 2

1. The USSR liberated Czechoslovakia from the occupying German army, and Czechoslovakia then became a Soviet satellite.
2. Secret police, show trials, and exiles to concentration camps are techniques that were used.
3. Many became critical of the repressive political policies and restrictive economic policies of the government.
4. He was a reformer, the elected leader of Czechoslovakia in 1968.
5. This was a period of hope for reform during the initial years of the Dubcek regime.

6. a. The Brezhnev Doctrine was a pledge to help any communist regime in danger of being overthrown.
- b. The Soviets said that Czechoslovakia's communist regime was being threatened by the reform movement.
7. Whenever one superpower increases its military might or invades another nation, the other superpower feels obligated to support the opposing side.
8. a. **Sphere of influence:** Czechoslovakia, within the Soviet sphere, was important for political, economic, and strategic military reasons. It could not be lost.
- b. **Balance of power:** The USSR felt that if it lost Czechoslovakia from its sphere of influence, this would tip the balance of power in favour of the U.S. and NATO
- c. **Expansionism:** The USSR embarked on a program after World War II to expand its sphere of influence further west into Europe. Satellite states were established.
9. By the end of World War II the USSR had annexed a number of eastern European countries, making them satellites of the Soviet empire. Poland was one of these satellites.
10. Exorbitant prices for staple foods and long lineups at shops were the major grievances.
11. Solidarity is a trade union in Poland that eventually became a political movement and voice of the people.
12. The Kremlin warned the Polish government to control the unrest, or the Soviet military would intervene.
13. The government declared martial law.
14. Solidarity has become a legitimate political force in Poland. Free elections can be held and the economy is moving towards a market economy.
15. The USSR felt that it could not allow much self-determination in Poland as this could set a dangerous precedent for the rest of the satellites within the Soviet sphere of influence. The U.S.A. again felt obligated to give some support to the other side.
16. Although Afghanistan was not an eastern European satellite, it bordered the USSR to the south – clearly within the Soviet sphere of influence.
17. Afghanistan was important because of its geographic location near the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, and the rest of the Middle East, and its proximity to Mideast international oil supplies.

18.



19. Even though the Afghan government was really dealing with a domestic problem over the modernizing of Muslim traditions, the USSR would not allow a popular rebellion in a country within the Soviet sphere of influence. Therefore, Afghanistan's right to self-determination was violated by the USSR.
20. In 1994 the country was in ruins with various groups fighting for power. The state no longer officially existed and many refugees were fleeing to Pakistan and to Iran.
21. Answers will vary depending on the events and situation current to when this is answered. Use newspapers, magazines, and other media to get up-to-date information.

Section 2: Activity 3

1. Central America

Country	Politics	The War	Human Rights
Guatemala	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The U.S. assisted military dictators.• The current leader is a hard-line anticommunist.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Guerrillas have fought since 1950s.• They are the best army in Central America.• The army is U.S.-trained.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• More than 100 000 people were murdered by government forces last decade.• No rule of law exists.• There are more than one million refugees.
El Salvador	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 1984 – Duarte was elected president.• Charges of rigged elections were laid.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The guerrillas’ FMLN has about 10 000 soldiers.• The well-trained army is U.S.- supported.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Atrocities, deaths, and disappearances have been blamed on right-wing death squads and the army.
Honduras	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Real power rests in the army.• The strong influence of the U.S. is felt.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This is the main base of U.S. action against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.• Contras operate in Honduras to attack the Nicaraguan government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• “Human rights are an invention to protect terrorists.”
Nicaragua	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Sandinista government replaced the Somoza family.• A directorate runs the government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• This is the prime target of U.S.-backed war efforts.• Contras are right-wing rebels fighting the government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 8 000 Indians were relocated.• There have been few reported abuses.

- 2.
- Superpowers support opposing left and right sides in the conflicts.
 - Most conflicts are over economics – standard of living and quality of life.
 - Central America is within the U.S. sphere of influence. The U.S. resists any communist successes in this area. This often means intervening in a country’s right to self-determination.
 - To maintain the balance of power, USSR became involved to support leftist movements.

3.
 - Canadian government aid programs
 - Ottawa-funded nongovernmental aid
 - proposal for peacekeeping plan
4. The five countries are
 - Cuba
 - Nicaragua
 - El Salvador
 - Guatemala
 - Honduras
5. The U.S.A. had always believed that the USSR wanted to spread communism to the rest of the world. One of the cornerstones of American foreign policy had been containment of communism anywhere in the world. Since Americans saw this as a problem in Central America, it was all the more urgent, because Central America was in the U.S. sphere of influence.
6. Grenada is in the Caribbean Sea, east of Cuba.
7. The Reagan administration believed that a communist coup was imminent.

Section 2: Activity 4

1.

Conflict	Israeli Reasons for Fighting	Arab Reasons for Fighting
Six Day War, 1967	Israel believed that Arabs would attack, so it attacked first.	Arabs wanted to regain control of territory lost in 1956 and strike a blow against Israel.
Yom Kippur War, 1973	Israel defended its acquisition of territory and established borders.	Arabs wanted to regain the West Bank and Golan Heights from Israel.
Lebanon, 1982	Israel invaded Lebanon to neutralize the PLO.	The PLO used Lebanon to strike against Israel.

2.
 - USSR, Syria, Lebanese Moslem militia
 - U.S.A., Israel, Lebanese Christian militia
3. The U.S.A. backed Israel in its ventures while the USSR backed the opposing side.
4. They represent the U.S.A. and the USSR.

- 5. The two groups are the Arab countries and Palestinians, and Israel.
- 6. It is saying that by giving the belligerents support, the superpowers were perpetuating the conflict.

Section 2: Activity 5

- 1. Iraq wanted money to repay some of its war debts from the Iran-Iraq war; it wanted Kuwait money as well as control of the Rumailah oil fields. Taking over Kuwait would also give Iraq a port on the Persian Gulf which Iraq lacked.
- 2. The United Nations was active in diplomatic talks, trying to convince Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. It also encouraged economic sanctions that would put international pressure on Iraq to withdraw. The United Nations Security Council then authorized the use of force to free Kuwait and provided a military force to achieve this.
- 3. Crude oil was spilled into the Persian Gulf and fleeing Iraqi forces set fire to hundreds of oil wells as the Iraqis withdrew from Kuwait.
- 4. Answers may vary but should address the issue that Saddam Hussein is still in control of Iraq.

Section 2: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

Concept	Definition	Conflict	Justification
Sphere of Influence	a territory or nation that falls under the exclusive influence of another, more powerful nation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Czechoslovakia• Grenada	The USSR did not want Czech reform to set a precedent. U.S.A. did not want a communist Grenada.
Balance of Power	an attempt to achieve equality in military capability	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Vietnam• Arab-Israeli Conflict	The USSR and China lent aid to North Vietnam to help against U.S.A. Superpowers helped opposing satellites.
Expansionism	a policy of a territory or nation whereby it attempts to extend its influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Czechoslovakia• Afghanistan	The USSR established it as a satellite. The USSR established a military presence in Afghanistan.

Containment	U.S. policy in the 1940s to prevent communist expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vietnam • Grenada 	U.S.A. tried to stop communist expansion. U.S. invaded to stop communists from gaining power.
Self-determination	the right of a nation to conduct its own affairs and determine its own future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nicaragua • Czechoslovakia 	U.S.A. interfered with the Nicaraguan government. The USSR interfered with Czech reform movement.

Enrichment

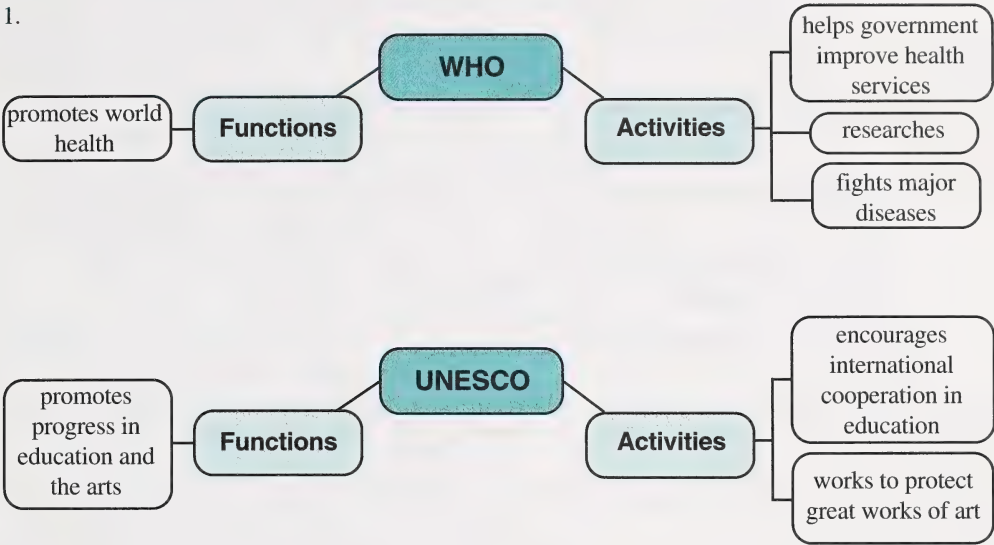
Answers will vary depending on when this activity is completed. Answers should give the most current information on the political and economic situations of the four countries. Radio or television newscasts and newspaper articles and magazines would give such information.

Section 3: Activity 1

1. If Country A imposes tariffs on imports from Country B, other countries, especially Country B, will retaliate and place tariffs on Country A's imports.
2. When one nation places protectionist measures on its imports, other nations will follow the example or retaliate, restricting and discouraging free trade.
3.
 - Tariffs are used to protect domestic industries from international competition.
 - A country may be in debt and unable to afford any more imports.
4.
 - Trade barriers breed an atmosphere of suspicion and cause governments to create policies based on economic nationalism rather than internationalism.
 - Protectionism restricts the amount of trade and can cause unemployment.
 - Quarrels over trade might ultimately lead to war.
5. Postwar devastation in Europe and much of the world caused many leaders to seek methods to prevent another global conflict and rebuild war-torn countries. The international consensus was to work more closely toward these goals. The OEEC administered funds from the Marshall Plan and served as the predecessor of the EEC.

Section 3: Activity 2

1.



- 2.
 - There are bigger markets for producers, this increases exports from the country.
 - Competition brings consumers lower prices.
- 3. By working to establish the lowest possible tariffs, GATT benefits national economies, producers, and consumers.
- 4.

• United States	• Britain	• Italy
• Japan	• France	• Canada
• Germany		
- 5. Answers may vary. Leaders of the world’s largest economies have the opportunity to meet to discuss problems and work out solutions.

Section 3: Activity 3

1.



2. Many west Europeans wanted

- protection against Cold War communist aggression
- a chance to rebuild war-torn countries

3. • The ESCS established a common coal and steel administration and policy.
• Euratom provided for cooperation in atomic research.
• The EEC abolished tariffs and protectionism and established a common agricultural policy.

4. The goals were as follows:

- free trade within the EEC
- a common customs barrier against all nonmembers
- free movement of EEC people to all parts of the European Community
- the Common Agricultural Policy
- political unity
- the European Social Fund
- the European Investment Bank

5. The EFTA was the European Free Trade Association formed in 1959. This was a loose organization of nations created to minimize protectionism. It was led by Britain.
6. Britain joined in 1973.
7. Answers will vary depending on when this question is completed. Answers should give the most recent news on the Maastricht Treaty.
8.
 - Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) is the communist equivalent of the Common Market.
 - ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) is the Southeast Asian common market.

Section 3: Activity 4

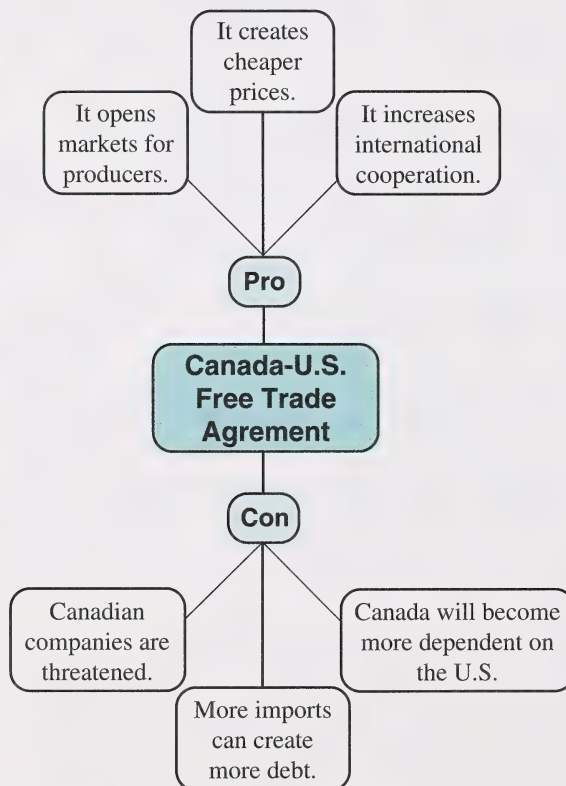
1. A multinational corporation is a company that has expanded operations to several other countries, establishing branch offices in each country.
2. Branch plants are offices, factories, and so on, that multinationals have established in other countries.
3. Five reasons for branch plants are as follows:
 - expanded markets
 - cheap raw materials
 - cheap labour
 - lax pollution laws
 - more favourable tax laws
4.
 - a. The Pacific Rim consists of the countries and colonies of Pacific Asia – Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and so on.
 - b. It is an important region for multinationals because it provides a fertile environment for multinational enterprise with such things as cheap labour and favourable tax laws.
5. Several examples are Exxon, Shell, Mitsubishi, ITT, and IBM. You may well have thought of others.

6.

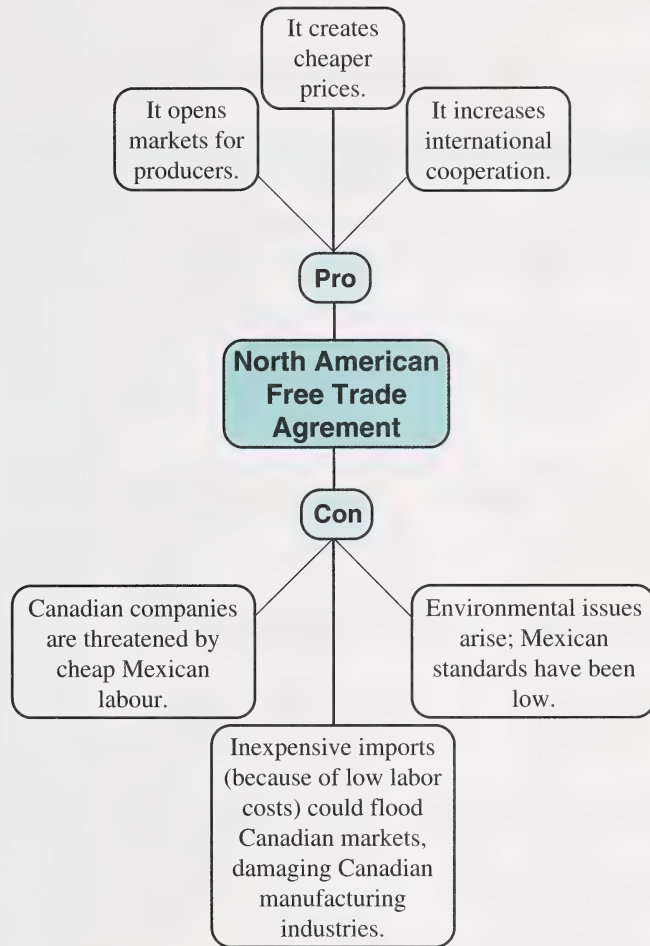
Positive Effects	Negative Effects
Multinationals transcend national boundaries and can encourage international cooperation.	Multinationals exploit countries for their raw materials.
They can bring technology to many countries.	Recipient countries rarely benefit from technology.
They provide jobs to needy countries.	Most jobs are unskilled.
They stimulate other areas of the economy through projects.	Sometimes interference with a country's policies occurs.

Section 3: Activity 5

1.



2.



Section 3: Activity 6

1. A cartel is an international group that aims at control of a particular market.
2. OPEC is an organization of nations that have cooperated to control the production of a particular commodity (oil).
3. Several Third World nations have cooperated to achieve common economic aims, thereby improving their economies.
4. OPEC has artificially increased the world price of oil. It has brought the world to depend largely upon the huge Mideast oil fields.

Section 3: Activity 7

1. They resented colonial exploitation and being treated like second-class citizens.
2. A Pan-African movement is a movement that promotes the interests of all the peoples of the continent of Africa.
3. Many European leaders believed that their nations could no longer maintain empires. They did not want to fight costly wars of independence.
4. The U.S.A. wanted capitalist democracies while the USSR wanted socialist systems.
5. Schools, roads, railways, harbours – all such things can be seen to have contributed positively to African life.
6. Negative results included such things as an absence of native leadership, little regard to needs of Africans when drawing colonial boundaries – no tradition of unity.
7. The essential is held to be economic development – the modernization of farming and industry.
8.
 - a. **What:** Pan-African cooperative organization
 - b. **When:** 1963
 - c. **Where:** Ethiopia
 - d. **Why:** to promote a sense of continental African unity as well as the independent interests of all African nations
9. The goals of OAU are to
 - promote African unity
 - encourage economic cooperation
 - settle disputes between members
 - encourage independence of all black Africans
10. Members have been reluctant to relinquish individual control. They resent outside interference.

Section 3: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

	Cooperation	Conflict
United Nations	The UN works to prevent war, develop economies, and promote human rights among all nations.	
EEC	European countries cooperate to give one another support and improve their economies.	There may be trade wars with other nations or economic blocs.
Multinationals	Multinationals can promote cooperation among many nations.	Multinationals can create conditions which lead to the exploitation of Third World nations. This can lead to resentment and resistance.
FTA	The FTA may create closer Canada-U.S. relations.	The FTA could lead to conflict with the EEC, Pacific Rim, and so on.
NAFTA	May create open markets and better cooperation for Mexico, Canada, and the U.S.A.	NAFTA could lead to same conflicts as FTA leads to.
OPEC	OPEC enhances the economic development of member states.	OPEC creates friction with the rest of world because of the value of oil.
OAU	The OAU may lessen political strife in Africa.	There could be conflicts between individual African nations and the OAU over intervention.

Enrichment

Your research project will be on the topic of your choice. Did you discover much that was of interest?

Section 4: Activity 1

1. We have come to realize that if the world is to survive, nuclear weapons must be eliminated.
2. The Cold War results in tension, threats, and a war of nerves. Confrontation is the key to understanding this concept.
Disarmament necessitates two important components – cooperation and peace.
3. Four characteristics of the Cold War were as follows:
 - a war of words
 - proxy wars
 - arms race
 - competition for natural resources
4. The superpower leaders realized that a total nuclear war would lead to world destruction and therefore avoided direct confrontation. Instead, they became involved in proxy wars.
5.
 - a. A deterrent is something that prevents or discourages someone or some group from acting or proceeding by arousing fear or uncertainty.
 - b. Mutual deterrence is the theory, or policy, that holds that only by maintaining a military force strong enough to discourage or withstand an enemy attack is a nation able to guarantee its security.
6. An arms race results when two or more nations compete with each other for military superiority.
7. Each superpower believed it must maintain equal nuclear arsenals.
8. If one power achieves nuclear superiority, the balance of power will shift in its favour, and that power may be tempted to launch a nuclear attack against the other.
9. Soviet leader Khrushchev led the USSR to seek a more common understanding and spirit of cooperation with the U.S.A. As both superpowers came to respect mutual deterrence, they attempted to tolerate the existence of each other.
10. Both sides realized that the Cuban Missile Crisis had brought the world too close to nuclear war. Using the threat of nuclear attack was not an acceptable way to solve superpower disputes. This began a thawing period in the Cold War. A hotline was set up between Washington and the Kremlin to allow superpower leaders to communicate, deal with crises, and avoid future confrontation and nuclear threat.
11. **Disarmament:** The ultimate goal is to eliminate nuclear weapons.
Arms control: The aim is to limit the size, power, and spread of weapons systems, especially nuclear arms.
12.
 - **ABM:** antiballistic missile; radar and defensive weapons that detect and destroy incoming offensive missiles, nuclear or nonnuclear

- **ICBM:** intercontinental ballistic missile; a nuclear missile with a range of 6 400 km or more
- **SLBM:** submarine-launched ballistic missile; a ballistic missile that can be launched at sea
- **Cruise missile:** a small, pilotless jet aircraft that can fly at extremely low altitudes to avoid radar detection, can deliver a nuclear weapon, and can be launched from airplanes, trucks, or submarines

13.

	Name and Year of Agreement	Main Provisions	Intended Effects	Actual Outcomes
Multilateral Agreements	Partial Test Ban Treaty, 1968	agreement to stop nuclear tests in atmosphere	to reduce fallout	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respected by some countries • not signed by China or France
	Outer Space Treaty, 1967	agreement to ban nuclear weapons in space	to make space nuclear-free	used by Soviets to argue against SDI
	Nonproliferation Treaty, 1968	agreement not to exchange nuclear technology	to reduce the spread of nuclear arms	not signed by many powers
	Seabed Treaty, 1971	agreement not to place nuclear weapons on seabed beyond 20 km limit	to reduce nuclear threat at sea	
Bilateral Agreements	Antiballistic Missile Treaty, 1972	agreement that each superpower could deploy two weapons systems	to allow each side defence against the other	
	SALT I, 1972	agreement to limit number of ICBMs, SLBMs, and ABMs	to stop or slow the arms race	extended to SALT II
	SALT II, 1979	was to have extended control of superpowers' arms	to stop or slow the arms race	not ratified by U.S.A.

Bilateral Agreements	INF Talks, 1981	intended to limit number and size of missiles in Europe	to slow arms race in Europe and Asia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • broke down in 1983 • USSR protested NATO deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles.
	START Talks, 1982	intended to limit number of long-range missiles	to slow down the arms race	
	Geneva Conference, 1985		to reduce all types of nuclear weapons	

Section 4: Activity 2

1. The Reagan administration spent \$2.4 trillion – the largest peacetime military buildup in history.
2. The SDI program was the Strategic Defense Initiative – a space-based missile defence shield over the U.S. that would make offensive nuclear weapons obsolete. The SDI threatened to neutralize Soviet nuclear weapons and cause a new arms race.
3. To compete with the vast amounts of money and personnel needed for a new arms race, the Soviets would have been forced to spend much more on their military. Therefore, SDI ran against Gorbachev's primary objective of modernizing the Soviet economy (*perestroika*). To carry out these changes, Gorbachev had to reduce international tensions and minimize the possibility of a superpower confrontation that could have led to nuclear war. If the threat to the Soviet Union was reduced, he could begin solving domestic problems by cutting Soviet military forces and transferring the resources to civilian uses.
4. To achieve his economic objectives, Gorbachev made improving Soviet-American relations a priority. The summit meetings were an attempt by the superpower leaders to negotiate controlling the arms race, especially SDI.

5.

Date	Outcome
November 1985 (Geneva Summit)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gorbachev tried to stop costly arms race by persuading Reagan not to proceed with SDI. Reagan linked superpower relations to arms control talks and stressed concern for human rights in Soviet involvement in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua. It ended with few successes, but the leaders agreed to hold future summits in 1986 and 1987.
January 1986	<p>Gorbachev proposed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 50% reduction on Soviet and American strategic nuclear weapons by 1990 and a ban on SDI for eight years elimination of all intermediate-range missiles in Europe reduction after 1990 of more intermediate missiles and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons elimination in final phase (1995) of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000
October 1986 (Reykjavik, Iceland)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gorbachev proposed eliminating all Soviet and American nuclear forces if U.S. accepted limits on SDI. Reagan refused to release his commitment to SDI and stopped the possibility of eliminating all nuclear arms. Reagan and Gorbachev agreed to cut 50% of all strategic missiles in five years and totally abolish them in ten years. All intermediate-range missiles (Intermediate Nuclear Forces or INF) were to be removed from Europe and those outside Europe were to be negotiated
March 1987	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gorbachev announced that he was prepared to include a separate INF agreement without delay. The USSR agreed to U.S. "zero-option" demand – no intermediate missiles in Europe. This meant larger Soviet reductions than American. For the first time the USSR allowed on-site verification of arms reduction.
December 1987 (Washington, D.C.)	<p>December 1987, Washington, D.C.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> INF Treaty was signed – the first superpower agreement to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. INF Treaty provides for dismantling all American and Soviet medium- and short-range missiles. It has improved the tone of superpower relations. Because INF Treaty called for such a small net reduction of nuclear arms, a major effort was made to make progress on START, which was going on at the same time as INF talks. Still unable to agree on SDI, START was handed back to negotiators. Without INF in Europe, conventional forces in Europe (in which the former Warsaw Pact was superior) would be needed.
June 1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> START was not ready for signing. Differences continued. Gorbachev pressed Reagan to limit SDI, but Reagan refused.

6. The two paths are
 - nuclear war through proliferation: countries other than the superpowers, such as a Third World country, could start a nuclear war
 - nuclear terrorism: terrorists could either hold governments hostage or ignite a total war
7. A likely conclusion seems to be that we must control the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all countries and especially to terrorists.
8. Here is a precise, technical definition:

A nuclear-free zone is any well-defined geographical area, regardless of size, in which no nuclear weapons shall be produced, transported, stored, processed, disposed of, or detonated. Neither shall any facility, equipment, supply, or substance for their production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal, or detonation be permitted within its borders.

Section 4: Activity 3

1. Human rights are rights thought to belong to people simply because they are human.
2. Some possible answers are
 - the USSR
 - Argentina
 - El Salvador
 - Israel
3. It is a list of human rights adopted by the UN in December 1948.
4. In your answer, you should have referred to any three of the following:
 - All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
 - Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
 - No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
 - No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
 - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.
 - Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
 - Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.
 - Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

5. a. Amnesty means a general pardon by which a government absolves offenders.
- b. Amnesty International works worldwide to gain the pardon of prisoners of conscience and to eliminate all torture and mistreatment.
6. Probably the best rights to list would be three of these four:
 - No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
 - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.
 - Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.
 - Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

However, you may also have mentioned some of these:

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
 - Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
 - No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
 - Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
7. The goal of AI is ultimately to stop governments from imprisoning and mistreating prisoners of conscience, prisoners of religion, and innocent people.
 8. The two methods are
 - to publicize specific stories of real people who are experiencing, or have experienced, loss of their human rights at the hand of a repressive regime. No government likes to be known as oppressive and brutal. This kind of publicity gains the release of many political prisoners.
 - to target specific individuals monthly so that AI members all over the world can write letters to governments that have arrested those individuals. AI urges its members to write letters on behalf of these target prisoners. They instruct members to demand the release of these prisoners politely but firmly. This has been a very successful method.
 9. Humanitarianism is the concern for human welfare as expressed in the desire for social reform. AI works to pressure all governments and peoples of the world to respect human welfare.
 10. In 1975, thirty-five communist and non-communist nations, including the superpowers, met in Helsinki to establish a program to protect human rights, including freedom of speech, religion, and movement all over the world.

11. A program was established at Helsinki to
 - reunite families
 - guarantee marriages between citizens of different states
 - allow freedom of travel and tourism
 - protect the circulation of information
 - promote cultural cooperation
12. The Covenant establishes standards for signatories to respect in such areas as working conditions, trade unions, social security, protection of the family, standards of living and health, freedom of movement, and equality before the law.
13. Many countries have not signed. Abuses of human rights remain in many of the world's countries. Amnesty International will provide up-to-date information on request.

Section 4: Activity 4

Problem	Cause	Effect
Population Explosion	• better health care	• lower death rates, higher birthrates
Pollution	• industrial waste	• toxic air, water, and land
Resource Depletion	• use for industrial and domestic consumption	• limited energy and raw material supplies
Urbanization	• more people moving to cities	• pollution, sanitation, and health problems • loss of fertile land
Destruction of Land	• climatic change • destruction of habitat • over-farming	• loss of arable land on which to grow food
Desertification	• expanding desert	• loss of arable land
Deforestation	• destruction of Amazon rain forests	• desertification • reduction in amount of oxygen
Ozone Layer Depletion	• breakdown of ozone by CFCs	• ultraviolet rays = more cancers
Nuclear Power Accidents		• radiation emissions • radiation sickness and birth defects
Greenhouse Effect	• increased concentration of CO ₂ in atmosphere	• warmer temperatures • dry weather • poorer crops
Food Supply Problems	• population explosion, pollution, greenhouse effect, land destruction, and so on	• starvation • undernourishment • malnourishment

Section 4: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

1. A confrontation in which only a limited number of nuclear weapons were used could be called a limited war.
2. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy used the dangerous policy of brinkmanship to force the USSR to back down.
3. When two or more nations compete in building up military superiority, they can be said to be involved in an arms race.
4. The belief that the elimination of weapons will in itself remove the main causes of conflict is the basic philosophy behind disarmament.
5. In 1967 over sixty nations signed the Outer Space Treaty, banning nuclear weapons in space.
6. SALT stands for Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.
7. The small, pilotless U.S. jet aircraft, capable of carrying nuclear warheads while flying at low altitudes so as to avoid radar detection, is called the cruise missile.
8. An agreement made between two nations is a bilateral agreement.
9. The relaxation of tensions between the two superpowers was known as détente.
10. In 1975, the Helsinki Accord was signed by the superpowers and thirty-three other nations in Finland.
11. The Soviet policy of openness during Gorbachev's leadership was known as glasnost.
12. Former President Reagan's proposed space-based nuclear missile shield over the U.S. is known as the Strategic Defense Initiative.
13. A geographic area that declares itself to be unwilling to tolerate nuclear weaponry on its territory is called a nuclear-free zone.
14. Rights felt to belong to all people simply by virtue of their humanity are called human rights.
15. In 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in order to protect these basic rights.
16. The organization that works to protect human rights by publicizing abuses of such rights is Amnesty International.

17. The process of fertile land becoming desert-like is called desertification.
18. The ozone layer has been damaged principally by the production of chemical chlorofluorocarbons.
19. The greenhouse effect is caused principally by the increased concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.
20. The term Cold War is usually contrasted with peaceful coexistence.

Enrichment

Your research project will, of course, reflect your own interests. Remember, being aware of environmental problems is only the first step. The follow-up is to **do** something about them.

Section 5: Activity 1

1. (1989)
 - April** – Solidarity leaders sign accord with Polish government restoring their party's legal status and allowing for free and open elections
 - May** – move made to begin removing barbed wire fence separating Hungary from Austria
 - June 4** – Solidarity candidates in Poland sweep 99 of 100 Upper House seats and 35% of Lower House seats (the total number they were able to contest)
 - June 16** – Imre Nagy, former Hungarian leader who defied Soviet domination in 1956 and was later murdered, given a hero's burial in Budapest
 - August 19** – Solidarity official Tadeusz Mazowiecki designated as Polish prime minister
 - September** – East German travel restrictions tightened in an attempt to stop the flow of East Germans going West
 - October** – Freedom trains take East Germans to Prague from where they seek passage to West Germany
 - October 7** – Hungarian Communist Party disbanded itself to become the Hungarian Socialist Party
 - October 18** – Erich Honecker, hard-line leader of East Germany, replaced by Egon Krenz
 - October 28** – demonstrations in Wenceslas Square in Prague
 - November 4** – over 500 000 demonstrators in East Berlin demanding reforms
 - November 7** – entire East German cabinet resigns

November 9 – German guards open Berlin Wall at midnight

November 10 – Todor Zhivkov resigns as Communist leader of Bulgaria and is replaced by Petar Mladenov who is later forced to relinquish power and allow free elections

November 20 – more than 200 000 demonstrators in Prague call for free elections

November 25 – Communist Party leaders in Czechoslovakia resign their positions

November 27 – entire Czechoslovakian work force takes part in two hour general strike

December 10 – Czech Communist president Gustav Husak resigns

December 17 – protesters take to streets in Timisoara, Romania and some 4500 unarmed men, women, and children are killed by government troops there

December 25 – Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena are taken hostage and later executed

December 29 – Vaclav Havel becomes the new president of Czechoslovakia in elections held there

2. Gorbachev wanted to make reforms in the Soviet Union to help solve some of its problems. He needed peace if he was to bring about these reforms; therefore, the USSR could not get involved in the events in Eastern Europe.
3. Answers may vary but will likely relate to Nicolae Ceausescu and the strong control he enforced in his country. His leadership was comparable to a Stalinist regime.

Section 5: Activity 2

1. Some European leaders feared the strength a united Germany might have in Europe.
2. The Soviet Union was concerned about the role a united Germany would have in European security. It did not favour East Germany, once it was united with West Germany, becoming part of NATO.
3. The united Germany has to deal with inflation and rising unemployment. There is a challenge to try to create some measure of equity in living standards throughout the country.

Section 5: Activity 3

1. Answers will vary, but should include the following points:
 - Eastern European countries no longer provided the Communist trading bloc for the Soviet Union.
 - People were demanding more changes and improvements in social conditions.

- The country's cultural groups were challenging Moscow for more control over cultural and economic affairs.
 - The nation was undergoing profound changes as it moved from central planning towards a market economy.
 - A lack of consensus by Communist Party members as to their party's future existed.
 - The August 1991 coup to overthrow Gorbachev unleashed a series of events.
2. Answers should discuss the possible division of the Soviet Union along ethnic and religious lines and also the concern regarding control over the stockpile of nuclear weapons.
 3. The Slovaks wanted more control over affairs concerning their part of the country.
 4. The governments would have to assist people in obtaining the citizenship they wanted. The country's economic assets would also have to be divided in some way.
 5. There are bitter feelings between the different ethnic and religious groups. There is a long history to this unrest.
 6. The economic sanctions have not been effective.
 7. Answers require your personal opinion as to what actions should be taken and may range from using stronger sanctions to sending in armed troops.

Section 5: Activity 4

1. Answers will vary depending on how you feel about the use of military intervention. Be sure you have given reasons to support the position that you took.
2. Peacekeeping troops can get caught in a battle or attack and their members could be killed or injured.
3. Answers will vary but should mention that this involves internal conflict or civil war within a country rather than one country invading and taking over another country. Nations are afraid of being drawn into an all-out war if some military action is started here.

Section 5: Activity 5

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|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. A | 3. B | 5. A | 7. D | 9. D |
| 2. C | 4. B | 6. C | 8. B | 10. A |

Section 5: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

Time lines will vary but should include the major happenings since January 1, 1990. See the time line in Section 5, Activity 1, question 1 for an idea of how to set up the time line. Use the section notes and current events to bring that time line up to the present date.

Enrichment

Answers will vary depending on what you feel Canada's role in peacekeeping should be. Some factors to address include the economic costs, the risks involved in such actions, and our moral or humanitarian obligations. Support should be given to back up the position you take.

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